POLITICS:
THE CITIZEN'S
BUSINESS

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POLITICS: THE CITIZEN'S BUSINESS

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POLITICS: THE CITIZEN'S BUSINESS

BY

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

AUTHOR OF "A CERTAIN RICH MAN," "THE MARTIAL ADVENTURES OF HENRY & ME," "GOD'S PUPPETS," "IN THE HEART OF A FOOL."

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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

In this book the reader will find a number of reflections upon American politics from the angle that is revealed to a convinced though not excited liberal in the campaign of 1924.

Our written Constitution should give us a static kind of politics. But in truth politics in America is more fluid than those in most great modern democracies. Issues change with every quadrennium. Parties seem static. The party machinery of the major parties is static; the same yesterday, to-day and forever, concerned chiefly with job-getting and job-giving. But within the parties issues fluctuate, and of recent years, in the last quarter of a century, political forces have risen which make party membership, at least membership in the party organizations, rather unimportant. These new forces in our politics which organize, direct and institutionalize public sentiment seem to have escaped many writers upon American politics. Yet in effect the existence of these new forces has changed our political life almost fundamentally. No constitutional amendment has done more to modify the importance of the Congress and, to a certain extent, the executive and through it the judiciary than have these organs of public opinion. This book will not study them deeply, but merely call attention to them, define them loosely, classify them rather broadly, and show them at work at the heart of American party politics—the conventions of the major parties.

The account of the conventions of the major parties, hereinafter following, was written during the conven-

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tions, much of it in the convention halls. It was not written to show how deeply the microcosms of public opinion had bored into the party system. But when the convention stories were written, it was obvious that they contained oblique reference to what might be called the infection of the party conventions by social and political units formed for the purpose of making the citizen's private sentiment, public opinion. And it seemed to the writer that these glancing references were sufficiently numerous and sufficiently lucid to be set down in the pages of a book, so that real students of politics and sociology might be attracted to this branch of their subject. The book is necessarily hastily written, and in the newspaper vernacular. Its thesis is sketched in; not logically developed. Yet possibly this book may give a hint to the trained student of our affairs who will put down in academic terms the growing influences of the extra-legal agencies that are becoming more and more a part of our real government.

That the volume might serve somewhat as a handbook for students of this year's Presidential election, in the appendix have been included certain formal utterances of the great parties, their platforms, their keynote speeches, certain nominating speeches, and one or two of the debates in the Democratic convention. There were no debates in the Republican convention. Acknowledgment to the Bell Syndicate and to *Collier's Weekly* must be made for permission to reprint much of the material hereinafter following.

Naturally this book is ephemeral, scarcely more permanent than the radio itself which brought the voices of the convention into millions of homes before the echoes of the applause had died. Surely times that take everything else so lightly may not mind a glimpsing book.

W. A. W.

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POLITICS: THE CITIZEN'S BUSINESS

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CHAPTER I

OUR UNWRITTEN CONSTITUTION

Probably the wisest group of men who have gathered in modern times, met in the Constitutional Convention that drafted the Constitution of the United States. They knew their times. They knew the history of the era upon which their times were founded. They knew their country, and its immediate possibilities. They understood their race, and its aspirations. If they had been mere dreamers seeking for abstract justice, visioning an Utopia without considering the time, the land and the race for which they were dreaming, their work would have passed as scores of constitutions have passed, written by men of less practical minds than those hard-headed Americans who had just passed through a fearful war and a disillusioning peace.

The structure which they built was something more than a political structure. In it they planted the seeds of a just relation of men, in many other activities than those of politics. Clearly the authors of the American Constitution had in their hearts a deep desire for that give-and-take, that consideration, that mutual help, which must be the basis of any society that survives long in a world where the fittest is becoming not the strongest, but the most intelligently kind. For want of a more definite term, let us call this yearning for justice in their

new country and new world, a hunger for righteousness: not piety, not at all sanctimony, but a feeling toward a fair, neighborly association upon mutually profitable terms. The Constitution they made was for a great neighborhood.

Their public opinion moved in great masses of like-minded citizens. They lived alike, thought alike, hoped alike, for the same good things of life. The Constitution was predicated upon a strong presumption of common trust that comes out of common traditions and the hope for a common destiny. The farmer of the Carolinas knew in a general way the farmer of New England. The manufacturer of Pennsylvania knew his competitor in New York, the sailormen of Salem met upon the high seas their fellow Americans from Wilmington in the South, and they were all farmer lads in tradition who had in their hearts an American ideal not so entirely different from that of the Southern aristocrat of Maryland and the Virginians and the capitalist from Boston. Differences in station were differences in degree and not in kind, here in this country in the days when the Fathers wrote the Constitution. Indeed their chief contribution to the political thought of their time and to modern times, was their stern insistence that the legalized caste system should never intrude in America. The abolition of titles has kept a door of hope, an avenue of opportunity, open and free to all men according to their individual merits, and so has preserved in America certain outward forms of social and economic freedom that are not found elsewhere in modern civilization. This clause which institutionalizes the phrase in the Declaration of Independence that all men are born free and equal, is the bulwark of our American civilization; its reason for being.

But this distinguishing clause of our Constitution

which guarantees every man his right to rise without let or hindrance from society, imposes the heaviest burden upon our citizens. By reason of their political heritage they have tremendous duties. They are made stockholders, by this obligation of nobility, in the greatest corporation in the world. It was the presumption of the Fathers that a man could vote his stock at the ballot box. In the world of the 1790's here in the thirteen colonies, a man could vote his stock in the corporation, effectively and with a clear conscience. His federal vote required only a little more intelligence, if he cast it wisely, than his vote in the town meeting or upon county affairs. Without elaborate means of communication which have come in the last half century, the American farmer in Massachusetts or Maryland knew his federal leaders well, and they knew him; they could speak for him. Ours was a little land of great talkers. Paid liars were rare. Propaganda had small place in the American cosmos in the early days of the Republic. The truth was not difficult to find. Moreover, the organization of our great federal corporation was simple, and the stockholder generally understood the working of his governmental machinery. His ballot was a powerful instrument in his hand. It meant something very real to him and to the life about him, giving him a sense of dignity and self-respect that made him in deed and in truth the nobleman who was endowed and set up in business by our Constitution.

The device of one man with one vote seems to have worked fairly well for a decade or so, and then some registering machinery was invented to give the man with his vote more power. Parties arose. Party organization gave the voter somewhat more intelligence in choosing his candidates, and party representatives working with other party representatives in the party caucus gave him more power in government than an unattached, un-

organized representative would have, working alone, in any branch or department of government. This acceleration of power to the representative naturally gave more power to the voter at first. In the days of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe the voter had more power as a Democrat or Republican than he had as an individual voter; chiefly because through organization he came to know his candidates better, and his candidates represented him more directly. Early in the last century factions within the party and organizations of men quite outside of parties for the purpose of propagating ideas which the party was not quite ready to accept grew up in the land. The most notable of these societies for the purpose of spreading political ideas in the first part of the last century was the Anti-Slavery Society. A man might be an American outside of the party and little good it did him to believe or disbelieve in slavery, so far as his vote was concerned. But inside of the Anti-Slavery Society he had another vote. Frequently he backed up that vote with a small subscription to the society. The Anti-Slavery Society furnished speakers, distributed tracts, and by its very organization produced propaganda for its creed. The man who subscribed to the Anti-Slavery Society had a power over politics which his neighbor did not have as a mere member of a party, and certainly vastly more power than had his neighbor who was not even a member of a party. For the Anti-Slavery Society became to all intents and purposes an estate of the government. It controlled and directed senators and representatives. Members of legislatures influenced the judiciary and had a hand in the administration of government. This was because the Anti-Slavery Society, being a compact, organized minority of like-minded people, in many communities, helped to choose candidates for the parties. A man's vote and influence in and

through the Anti-Slavery Society became much more powerful than his vote and influence in the ballot box through his party.

This condition by which a man had two votes in government, arose almost of necessity because of the growing population and the diversified interests of a young and expanding country. In the 1840's and '50's, population, common American interests and direct communication, state with state, neighbor with neighbor, were not so simple as they were in the 1790's. Other minorities were organizing inside of party and across party lines. The Loco-Focos, the Know-Nothings, the Free-Soilers, rose and waxed fast, and faded when their ends were accomplished or definitely denied to them. But in these groups the citizen acquired vastly more power than he did as a member of either of the major parties. The Civil War came. From it the two great parties emerged, but inside of the Republican party, sprang up the Grand Army of the Republic; inside the Democratic party, Tammany and the Confederate Veterans. Across party lines appeared the Civil Service Reform League, the Tariff Reform League, and in these organizations men were able rather easily to make their private sentiment public opinion. So members of these leagues, armies and societies, by reason of their membership, acquired a vote more efficacious than their vote in the ballot box and more powerful than their membership in a party. For they could influence the smaller minorities grouped about them much more quickly and much more effectively than they could influence government, voting outside of parties or even inside of parties. Thus it was possible in the '70's and '80's for a man to have two or three ballots; to all intents and purposes two or three votes in government. Suppose he was a Republican and a veteran of the Civil War. He had two votes—one as

a Republican, which gave him some control of government through his party organization, in his city, his state and his nation. Then he might have a vote as a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, which maintained an elaborate organization for the purpose of influencing politics more or less, in his ward, in his city, in his state and at the National Capitol. His G.A.R. organization and his G.A.R. representatives influenced the Republican organization. So as a member of the G.A.R. his vote in the councils of that body was worth a dozen votes of the man outside the party, and half a dozen of a Republican outside the G.A.R. Then this same man might be a member of the Civil Service Reform League. There his vote in the councils of that organization elected men who worked with members of legislatures, governors, congressmen and Presidents, and so made laws and enforced them, in accordance with the wishes of the Civil Service Reform League. Thus, if a man had enterprise and a little leisure, he was three times as powerful in government as he would be, merely working in government as an isolated voter, a few days before election. The Democratic voter had inside his party similar organized minorities, which gave him great leverage on government, if he chose to devote his time or money to operating these political levers. The constitutional guarantee of one vote for one man, thus was wiped out by the exigencies of a growing country.

It was no longer even remotely possible for the man in Kansas to know the man in Maine, or the man in Florida. Local backgrounds were making local traditions which produced varying points of view. Each of the forty-eight states began to form itself into a civilization somewhat of its own kind. Even within the states, sections developed along special lines. Machinery came with a great roar into life. Existence became horribly

confused, noisy and baffling to the average man. The old Constitution guaranteed to him a few necessary rights, but not enough for Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, according to his ideals. So the two parties became unwieldy and awkward. Scores of minorities organized themselves inside the parties, across party lines, ignoring the parties. These minorities sometimes functioned for a few months or a few years as little parties themselves. And every area of a man's relation to government became the special interest of some league, association, union, club or chamber. If a man disliked the corner saloon he went into the Anti-Saloon League. If he wanted his womenfolk to vote, he joined the Woman Suffrage Association. If he didn't like his working conditions he took out a union card and became a member of the American Federation of Labor. If his food disagreed with him, he joined the Pure Food Association, and secured the passage of a law that guaranteed purity in drugs and food products. If he didn't like his money he joined the Free-Silver League or the Sound-Currency League. If his ballot was too long, he joined the Short Ballot Association. If he wanted war or aspired to peace he found half-a-dozen societies to promote the particular kind of war or secure the exact brand of peace that satisfied his soul. If he was a banker and wanted more interest, he joined the American Bankers' Association. If he was a lawyer, doctor, actor, editor, preacher, he joined the national craft association of his kind and working with his fellows secured the legislation which his profession demanded. In the nature of things the little man in the little town, or the big one, could not know other men in other towns and other remote states. But he could, nevertheless, reach them through various organized minorities. Whatever area of his consciousness irritated or itched him, he could find

relief by gathering himself into some society, association, Klan or Knighthood wherein other hundreds of thousands were gathered scratching the same itch, and they together could hire and latterly have hired, high-priced men and women, stationed them in city halls, state capitals and at Washington, to remove the irritation by remedial legislation or administrative action. Even judges have been chosen by these organizations of men, so that every branch of the government is responsible not to parties but to the citizen in his organized capacity.

The complexity of our government no longer makes its citizens powerless. But the Constitution has been supplanted, and we have two kinds of government—our political government which is supposed to be in the hands of a majority of the people; and a group of organized minorities, sometimes working together, sometimes at each other's throats, making a vast, uncontrolled, but tremendously powerful, invisible government —the government of the minorities.

It may help the reader to understand this new form of government which is replacing our constitutional form if we define rather accurately a few of the typical social and political units that make this invisible government. To-day at the close of the first quarter of our century these forms fall broadly into four types. First, and most powerful, though not historically the earliest form, is what might be called the craft organization. The American Federation of Labor, the National Chamber of Commerce, or either of the three farm organizations—the Farm Bureau, the Farmers' Union, or the Grange—are typical of a score of craft organizations set up primarily to influence administration and direct legislation. Virtually every craft and calling in the country maintains such an organization. Some of the craft or voca-

tional units are federated as in the case of the American Federation of Labor. These organizations have state units and within the state sometimes they maintain district units. Each unit has its president, secretary, legislative committee and often its legislative agent or lobbyist who not infrequently is its agent, counsel, or chief lawyer. Below the state or the district are smaller units, local chapters. Theoretically delegates from the local chapters elect the state officers. Delegates from the state convention compose the national convention of each craft whose members are supposed to elect the national officers of the craft organization. But as a matter of fact frequently, indeed too frequently, the national officers of the craft who originally were elected by the membership form a machine. The oligarchy, thus created, directs the political activities and sometimes the political thinking of the craft. Orders run down rather than up too often in these craft organizations. They tend to become static, conservative and offer opportunities for venality and graft; opportunities which, by the way, are rarely realized. In fact, generally honest, intelligent, courageous men, men sometimes of vastly more ability than any member of Congress, commanding much higher salaries than senators and congressmen can command, are found in the high offices of these craft societies. They can and do influence members of Congress, cabinet members and administrators generally by threats or promises implied or given of political punishments or rewards. The congressman who defies the head of the Bankers' Association, or the American Federation of Labor, or the National Chamber of Commerce, or the American Medical Association, has to be a fairly brave public servant. But their power does not come chiefly from threats or promises. They know expertly the needs of their craft. They speak with authority and conviction about the

relation of that craft to society in general. The danger of the evil dominance of these craft associations is potential rather than real, though they do dominate government for what seems to be the common good.

The second type of organization which functions in our government crystallizes around an idea. A group of men and women in a given territory form an organization, we will say for the protection of child labor in the community. Similar groups are working in other communities. They unite in a state society for the protection of child labor. The next step to a national society is inevitable. Around this idea grows in the several states and in Washington an organization; a president, a secretary, a treasurer. In the craft organization dues are collected from all members, theoretically to maintain the state and national headquarters. In the second type of political organization gathering about an idea, dues generally are replaced by private subscription secured by various kinds of begging. The Suffragists had a powerful organization before the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment. The advocates of child labor have a strong organization now. The Anti-Saloon League is the most powerful and most typical organization of its kind. The League of Women Voters is somewhat a craft organization; for this league is devoted to the affairs of woman in her craft activities, chiefly her home-making activities, but her business activities are also considered as a part of the business of the League of Women Voters. The national league typically is supported by the state leagues and the state leagues by local leagues. The heads of these organizations grouped around ideas are also powerful persons politically. They are chosen carefully and paid well. Often they have large expense accounts. Always they have great political power due to their membership. Members of these leagues, when they form

themselves naturally, direct rather more democratically than the members of the craft associations, the activities of their national headquarters. A voting membership in one of these leagues, if one cares to devote time and energy to it, gives one much greater power in the affairs of the nation than one gets from a ballot or party membership.

A third type of political organization develops when we add to the organization grouped about an idea the paid organizer—the salesman. It is odd that when the salesman enters into what might be called the biological structure of this kind of unit, he generally sells along with the idea a ritual, a grip and a password, and a vast lot of flubdubbery of suspicion, bigotry and fear. He probably sells suspicion and bigotry more easily than he sells his basic idea. And the minds that love rituals, grips and passwords too often are moved by their resentments rather than their convictions. So the salesman merchandising the byproducts of ignorance adds to his group great numbers of members who are only obliquely interested in its basic philosophy. A generation ago, in the early 1890's, the Farmers' Alliance sprang up in the Middle West and for a few years was powerful in politics. The organizer found it highly profitable to sell class hatred to the farmer and so long as his list of new dupes lasted the Farmers' Alliance throve. Then came the American Protective Association, an Anti-Catholic society. The Non-Partisan League, which thrived a few years ago in the Northwest, furnishes an example of the kind of organization which depends largely upon the paid organizer. A perfect example of this kind of political phalanx is found in the Ku Klux Klan. The idea minus the salesman would attract few members. As these lines are written in 1924, it is one of the powerful, probably the most powerful, single minority solidarity in

American politics. Membership in the Ku Klux Klan gives the average citizen vastly more power and consequence in his community and in his state and nation than his vote at the ballot box or his membership in his party. The history of American politics, however, indicates that these alliances which depend upon the paid organizer are of mushroom growth; exceedingly powerful while they last but of fleeting and transitory life. The Civil Service Reform League and the Tariff Reform League, for example, have seen half a dozen of these hothouse fellowships rise, fatten, fade and disappear because their roots were not in the soil of a genuine altruistic ideal; such soil as nourishes the older and stabler bodies.

A fourth type of organization which does business in our politics through national organization is that which affects private interests rather than public affairs. Indeed the third type often affects private interests just when they clash with the public interest. For instance, beet sugar has its national organization, its chief counsel, and lobbyists in Washington; also its legislative headquarters in various states. So has wool. So have steel and copper. So has oil. So have the railway executives. So have all of those great business organizations which are commonly called "the interests," meaning, of course, the private interests of large corporations. But the interests are not so powerful as the crafts and the crusaders. They are on the defensive, apologetic, always shy, and somewhat impotent with fear in all of their transactions—fear of too much unfavorable publicity.

In this last group is found the degenerate posterity of a race that ruled the nation during the last quarter of the 19th century. In those days every railroad group had its great lawyer who held states in the hollow of his hand, named senators, governors and congressmen, was

the ally of city bosses, and was upon terms of social intimacy with Presidents, supreme courts, cabinets and senators. The railroads in those days more or less dominated the politics of the capitals, taking the lead from the packing houses, the insurance companies, the trusts, dealing in the commodities of Congress. But the primary system and the direct election of United States senators took the power from these attorneys and lobbyists and so broke up a great tendency toward plutocracy in the country. The half scared, meachingly militant representatives of the interests who slip into the hotel corridors of Washington and a few of the state capitols, are the dying sons of a race of giants compared with the head of the American Federation of Labor, or the National Chamber of Commerce, or the Farm Bureau, or the League of Women Voters, or the Anti-Saloon League. The attorneys and lobbyists of the great interests are a bandy-legged tribe.

CHAPTER II

THE SUPER CITIZEN'S DUTIES

This government of the minorities still uses the constitutional government of the United States to effect its various purposes. Parties are its tools when they are useful, but when they get in the way of organized minorities parties are ignored by this invisible government. Without the endorsement of either party, and generally with the opposition of the leaders of both parties, organized minorities have twice amended the Constitution of the United States, giving us Woman Suffrage and Prohibition. They are about to amend it again, sooner or later, with a Child-Labor Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment will put a considerable control of commerce into the hands of Congress. The chairman of the League of Women Voters can snap her fingers at the chairman of both parties. She is more powerful in Washington than they combined. The presidents of the national farm organizations control a bloc of votes in Congress which neither party chairman, neither party whip, nor the President himself, can move. The president of the National Chamber of Commerce and the president of the American Federation of Labor are more powerful in Congress than the Chairman of the Committee on Inter-State Commerce, or the Chairman of the Committee on Labor, in either house of Congress. The head of the American Legion appears in Washington, waves his hand, Congress jumps into a bellboy's uniform, takes orders, goes down to the White House and insults the

President. Party leaders, party chairmen, elder statesmen, stand around watching the spectacle, aghast but helpless. The Constitution which our Fathers devised so wisely seems to be made to hand for the purpose of the invisible governments that of necessity have sprung up in a complicated civilization.

The fiction of one vote for one person still is maintained politely in high-school classes in civil government; but men and women who touch practical politics, if only obliquely, know that men and women now may have as many votes in government as they have interests for which they are willing to sacrifice time and thought and money. If the citizen feels that the foreign-born are becoming too powerful in his town, his state or his nation, he joins the Ku Klux Klan. If he feels that the foreign-born are oppressed he joins the Knights of Columbus or some Hebrew association or racial society. Does he want the hours of service, the wages and the working conditions of himself or his young children or his grown daughters improved, he finds three or four national organizations, splendidly equipped with fast talking young men and young women, at every capital, who go out across the land, making his own sentiment public sentiment, and forging public sentiment into law.

A few hours' time, a few dollars in money, and a little thought devoted to the purpose in his heart will find a way to thrust that purpose with terrific force into the agencies of government, under splendidly organized minorities.

Our American capacity for organization has built up this great system of extra-constitutional government, in which Wall Street participates no more effectively than the retailer in the little store on Main Street. Indeed, during the year 1924, Wall Street, which went to Congress to secure an income tax bill to its liking, was pub-

licly and shamefully defeated by Main Street. But the battle is not always to the strong. The American Federation of Labor was humiliated by a defeat from the Chambers of Commerce and by the railroad presidents who thwarted an attempt to change the Esch-Cummings law. The Congress of the United States and the legislatures of all the states are used as Olympic bowls for these great contests between the powers of invisible governments. And the legally constituted members of governments are kicked around, tramped upon and sometimes thrown carelessly into the discard by the great unlegal forces that stage the combat.

However disillusioning this truth about American government may be, it is a reality and may not easily be changed. The citizen who desires to return to the Constitution and its ancient works and ways, would have to join a regular society incorporated for the purpose of returning to the Constitution, and that very society would have to ignore the Constitution, if it got the country back to the Constitution! But if the citizen wishes actively to participate in government, and influence it for what he regards as good, only one course is open to him: he must find his fellows who think as he thinks, join them and play the game of real politics, as the rules are laid down by practice over a century old. If he is content with one vote at the ballot box, or a vote and a half, as a member of a party, he is a pretty poor stick of a citizen. It's all right to stand proudly upon his constitutional rights and to decry the invisible government. But it is the real government. The ruling classes are those who use their craft societies, medical associations, farm bureaus, labor unions, bankers' associations, women's leagues and the like to influence government. Of course, it takes time and intelligence, and a little money, but not much. For fifty dollars a year

the average family ought to be able to buy half a dozen powerful votes in government, each vote ten times as powerful as the vote guaranteed by the Constitution. Father may pay his dues to his trade association whether he be doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief, rich man, poor man, beggar man or tax dodger. Mother may join and support her national federation of clubs, or her League of Women Voters. The two may contribute to the Anti-Saloon League or to its militant opponent. They may keep up their church dues, and the power of the church is irresistible in American politics when it is manifest. Brother may join the Boy Scouts; sister, the Campfire Girls, the Y. W. or both, and if the baby feels his nose out of joint, he will find a League ready to right his wrongs.

These, of course, are but few of hundreds of organizations functioning in politics to remake the world, according to the aspirations of the people. Naturally these extra-constitutional political groups are not perfect. Some of them are desperately wicked. The best of them occasionally finds itself in the hands of an unscrupulous and greedy man. Millions of dollars are spent every year keeping these organs of the invisible government going. Most of the millions is honestly spent, but some of it goes into waste or bribery, directly or indirectly. This potential waste and corruption, of course, angers honest citizens and gives many persons the cue to decry the whole business of the American super State. But the outcry against these necessary organs of public opinion is futile.

We could not go back to the Constitution if we desired to go. We must, if we would have a constitutional government, remake our Constitution to fit the times. Perhaps the one great need now is to legalize, control and make more efficient and representative these loosely

formed, irresponsible groups which do the citizen's public business for him. It is a national shame that in our state capitals and at Washington, the invisible government functions without legal restraint. Powerful men and women who have unlimited funds at their command, and vast social forces in leash, ready to attack Congress, are responsible virtually to no one. This is dangerous. The American Federation of Labor, the Anti-Saloon League, the National Chamber of Commerce, the American Publishers' Association, the League of Women Voters, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Federation of Churches, the Ku Klux Klan, certain national Catholic societies, are but a few of the vast social forces in America which watch legislation, send their lobbyists to the great party conventions with prepared planks for adoption, and direct the forces of American life as surely as do the three branches of our government. Why should they not be responsible to the constitutional authority of the land? Why should they not all be compelled to incorporate to furnish complete statements of the sources of their receipts, and the manner of their expenditures, of their purposes and plans, of their membership and of their directing officers? Thus would the invisible government become visible. Thus would the activities of minorities be subject to public scrutiny and public regulation. Thus might the actual government become a part of the real and nominal government. So might we go back to the Constitution by widening its powers to cover the land that is.

The old Constitution covers only the land that was, and perhaps should be. Every fourth year, as we elect our American President, the government of the United States, in its administrative branch and, potentially, in its judicial branch, returns to the people. Every two years the legislative branch of the government changes

wholly or in part. Practically the same thing happens in our state that happens in our federal government, except that, generally in the states, changes are biennial. It is, of course, a real part of the citizen's business to participate as fully as possible in all the agencies that affect these changes. Obviously the party system is the direct and simple lever by which the government moves from the control of one group of citizens to another, or remains, by way of vindication, at rest. The party organization of the major parties naturally becomes important, and every citizen should make it a part of his business, as a stockholder in the great corporation of the United States, to be as influential in his party organization as his time, talents and means will let him be. There was a time when party and party managers controlled public policy. They do not control it now. One may as well be frank and declare that party platforms mean precious little. Four years ago the League of Women Voters, to use just one instance among a dozen of its kind, appeared at the Republican national convention, asking the platform committee to endorse what was known as the Sheperd-Towner Maternity Bill. The platform committee refused. It endorsed other things demanded by the League of Women Voters, and the Democratic party in its platform did endorse, at the request of the League of Women Voters, the Sheperd-Towner Bill. If party platforms meant anything, the overwhelming defeat of the Democrats at the polls should have doused the hopes of the women for the Sheperd-Towner Bill. But they immediately set their machinery to work upon the President and Congress; and in the first message of President Harding occurred a recommendation that Congress pass the Sheperd-Towner Bill. Congress passed it, and so far as that measure is concerned, the whole flubdubbery of party platforms means abso-

lutely nothing. This instance is recorded here, to give cheer to those who found their pet measures ignored by their party. Parties have become servants. The personnel of party organization no longer gives orders. Party managers are public servants in effect standing in livery before the doors of the great organizations of propaganda, waiting for tips and orders.

This year at the conventions of the major parties, came all the representatives of the great minority groups. They were received by the platform committee, and spent days and nights arguing for and against various causes. These managers of leagues, associations, klans and societies sometimes are powerful enough to go over the heads of the party committeemen writing platforms, and take their propaganda to the floor of the convention. This happened in New York when the League of Nations issue and the Ku Klux Klan issue were debated and voted upon by the convention. A bitter factional contest resulted, which may split one of the major parties. Nothing better could illustrate the superior strength of the extra-constitutional powers of government over the regular order than these debates in the Democratic convention.

Now this instance of the weakness of the constituted powers in politics under the nominal government is set down here to show the average citizen that he need not be discouraged if he loses caste in his party. He has a score of other doors which will open to his hand if he is in earnest about the vision within his heart. As his great-grandfathers found all over the little America that was, a hundred years ago, many light-minded fellows, so the American citizen to-day may find all over the big America that is, thousands and hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of light-minded citizens with whom he may coöperate powerfully to attain his end. The citi-

zen's business is, of course, politics. Obviously it should be party politics of some kind, but if he fails to make his point in his party, still his business is politics, and he may go with his ideal to any of the other agencies of politics that are open and inviting him. The bad citizen, the slacker American, is he who, standing dazed and impotent before his job, turns away idly to his business or to some social folly, or personal hobby, and refuses to do his part in the public affairs of his country.

In the chapters that follow some attempt has been made to give a series of fleeting impressions of the two major political conventions in the year 1924. They are typical of two things: first they are typically American. The sketches that follow were written to picture the American citizen working in convention assembled. These conventions differ only slightly from any dozen other great conventions that assemble every year on the American continent; conventions of the lawyers, the doctors, the bankers, the laboring men, the club women, the Daughters of the Revolution, the farmers, the school-teachers and the churchmen. Secondly, while these political conventions are conducted very much as all other American conventions are conducted, their membership has a wider range than any other gatherings in America. In fact, these political conventions are typically political as well as typically American. In the story which will follow hereinafter, we shall see the various organized groups coming in to the convention committees with their demands, seeking to influence the parties, sometimes failing, sometimes succeeding, but in either case, apparently, regarding success or failure as a mere episode in their work. After the conventions adjourn the minority group goes right on working within the parties and outside to secure the ends which the parties ignore or grant. The cynical attitude of the

managers of minority groups to the major parties is beautiful.

If these notes upon the great conventions serve to bring some idea of the method, rule, procedure and ends of party gatherings to the average man or woman who has never seen one of these conclaves, the aim of the writer will be achieved. These notes were written mostly while the conventions were in session. At best they are mere suggestions for pictures, fugitive impressions which might be developed in more elaborate detail. And they are printed here in the hope of stimulating in the citizen some interest in his public business.

CHAPTER III

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION—THE PRELIMINARY DAYS

In telling the story of the two conventions one must remember that the background in the country of the two parties as far as their candidates was concerned entirely differed. The Republicans in their primaries and conventions had all but nominated Mr. Coolidge. The only thing at issue was the nomination of the Vice-President. And the Republican convention was without thrill because it had no vital major issue.

The Coolidge forces at the national Republican convention seemed to have been assembled chiefly to teach the old crowd in the Republican party to have "faith in Massachusetts." The whole cast and atmosphere of the convention was New England. The old guard which has been running the Republican convention for thirty years was badly subdued. It got its orders from Butler, of Massachusetts, and its news from the reporters. The old guard surrendered command and was glad enough to save its face by running errands for the Coolidge managers. The change took place in the last twenty-four hours. The week before the convention met it seemed as though the senatorial machine that nominated Harding would nominate Coolidge and write his platform. But it was evident early in the preliminaries of the convention that Coolidge would write his own platform and accomplish his own nomination. By Coolidge one means the Coolidge forces in charge of Campaign Manager Butler. Mr. Butler is the head of an organized minority in the Repub-

lican party, composed in itself of a group of organized minorities, and these smaller groups are the Protective Tariff Association, the Boston Home Markets League and other groups of conservatives, economic, social and political. Butler was the Mark Hanna of this convention. He took orders from no one, and the old guard, that is to say, those in charge of the United States Senate —Lodge, Curtis, Watson, Lenroot and Smoot—had to breathe on a meter read by Butler and take out a sunshine license to cast their own shadows.

Naturally a convention dominated by newcomers was a different affair from the Republican conventions that have been assembling for the past twenty-five years. Sunday in a political convention ordinarily bands are playing, marching clubs are shouldering through the hotel crowds and rumors of deals and combinations are making the air electric with excitement. Sunday before the convention met in 1924 closed with one item of news—the withdrawal of Lowden as a Vice-Presidential candidate. It is hard to imagine a Republican convention where any news about any Vice-Presidential candidate Sunday night would cause a flutter of excitement. But so completely had the Massachusetts reserve cast a chill over the ordinary Republican ardor that the marching clubs did not dare venture out. The bands were hushed and rumor was paralyzed. One could walk through any of the hotels in town without bumping into any one. There were no crowds in Cleveland that preliminary Sunday night. In various rooms sat enthroned the managers of the convention: Butler, of Massachusetts; Ambassador Warren, late of Mexico City and Tokio, who was writing the platform; Theodore E. Burton, who was tuning up his keynote. It was evident that the three wise men were about to give the Republicans a rather different convention from any that ever assembled

before! There could be no doubt of the conservatism of the convention. But the conservatism was a different brand from that spread upon the pages of history by the conservatives who massed in 1912 under the leadership of Root and Smoot and the Republican national committee. A revolution had come, but it was a revolution inside the conservative wing of the party. The President was determined to have his way with every important declaration. Curiously enough he stood against the American Protective Tariff League's declaration on the tariff. A number of planks were favorably considered by Chairman Warren, of the resolutions committee, all of which endorsed the flexible tariff and several of which definitely promised revision downward instead of upward. There were from the beginning definite indications that the convention would be led into a softened and chastened atmosphere about the League of Nations. It must be remembered that Coolidge in Boston as governor welcomed President Wilson home from Europe with a speech endorsing the League of Nations. It must also be remembered that Coolidge tried to get a World Court established which recognizes the League of Nations, and from the first day of the assembling of the pre-convention crowds, the attitude of the various minority organizations advocating participation in the League of Nations left no doubt that, both in the keynote and in the platform, reference to the League of Nations would lack the harshness which characterized orthodox Republican utterance in the last two years. These groups devoted to securing American membership in the League of Nations were conspicuous about the convention, functioning most normally after the fashion of groups within the invisible government. A dozen other similar groups were represented in Cleveland. But they worked through the Massachusetts crowd. So it was certain Sunday

morning, preceding the convention, that the platform would be a calm, cautious and conservative reflection of the Coolidge attitude toward political issues.

The withdrawal of Lowden, which was really final despite the belief of the politicians who felt that it was merely a diplomatic step in a gentle flirtation, put a certain ladylike spirit into the pre-convention crowd; an element of chance entered into the proceedings. But it was really difficult to get enthusiastic over a mere Vice-Presidential convention which was what that came to be at its best. The Mid-Westerners, who have no industrial concerns, lined up for Dawes, but the labor crowd, through its group organ, the American Federation of Labor, served notice on the Eastern delegates that Dawes would not do. He was at the head of an organization known as the Minute Men of the Republic which has for its major plank "The American Policy of the Open Shop."

Over it all, that first Sunday before the convention met, was the shadow of LaFollette and the militant liberals of the Northwest. His group contained in the year 1924 all of the moderately radical organized minorities in the land. And in a government of organized minorities, unconsciously his power loomed big. It was, and for years has been, the fiction of the conservative leaders of American politics that these minority groups, being annoying, are wicked; and being wicked cannot prevail. But they do prevail. Even in the Republican convention when it was most conservative these minorities came, wrestled and sometimes won, and always disturbed the managers of the party. For all that, the Republican party stood from that first Sunday night, June 8, 1924, definitely, irreconcilably conservative. Roosevelt might never have lived, the Bull Moose might never

have bellowed! And yet, in the shadow, when two or three of the old guard or new conservatives met, there was always a question—"What about LaFollette?" And no one waited for an answer.

CHAPTER IV

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION—THE DAY BEFORE THE OPENING

This convention differed from any other Republican convention that ever assembled in that the business men who control Republican conventions generally from the inside moved two rooms out and were fairly visible in 1924. The attitude of the delegates indicated a different sort of personnel this year in the convention. It was not a sloppy, noisy, fatuous crowd of "whoopers-up" that one saw in 1924 in the hotel corridors and around the convention, though that old fringe of futility did adorn the fabric. The general impression that one got of the convention and its crowd was a Rotarian impression. Busy young gentlemen in fairly well-cut clothes and nobby straw hats, better than decently necktied, were putting spirit and snappy ginger into the proceedings. The whisper was gone. Orders came from Butler's room, the Coolidge manager, with a certain tone of authority as from the general superintendent's office or the head of the sales department.

Word went down the line that Lodge was to do penance. Men said he might have to stand in his pajamas three days in the hot sun before he got into the convention at all.

Orders is orders.

Political idols were wrapped in burlap and stowed away. The Vice-Presidential talk did not buzz around the Senate leaders. A story circulated to the effect that

Coolidge said to Borah, "I would like to have you on the ticket with me." And says Borah to Coolidge, "At which end?" But Borah was not the only man in the Senate of whom that might be said.

Senator Curtis, of Kansas, was mentioned as a Vice-Presidential candidate. He would have liked the job. The Kansas delegation formally endorsed him. Then came orders out of the general manager's office saying, "Why not have a Republican on the ticket with Coolidge? This man, as Republican whip, has forced through the Senate five measures in opposition to Presidential messages. If he runs we will have to have two platforms." "But," declared the friends of Curtis, "he was standing on the Republican platform of 1920." "All right," answered the vinegary young salesmen in straw hats, "yours received and contents noted. Will say in reply, let him go back and run this year on the platform of 1920. We are running a new platform."

Orders were orders.

And the sales department made it snappy.

The most conspicuous of the various invisible governments at Cleveland was the League of Women Voters. But their opponents, the representatives of the National Women's Party, were there also. The League of Women Voters desired first of all three things—the World Court as Hughes and Harding conceived it; the endorsement of the ratification of the Child Labor Law, and a plank providing for efficiency in government and the establishment of the merit system for employment and promotion—civil service, in short. The National Women's party had a major demand—the ratification of what is known as the blanket amendment to the Constitution giving women equal economic and industrial rights with men. This amendment would wipe out all of the social legislation for women, mothers' pensions, laws providing

for the eight-hour day and the minimum wage and industrial privileges for women, and naturally the other women's organizations are very deeply opposed to this plank. No division in the leagues of women since the days of suffrage is so deeply cleft as this difference over what is known as the "blanket amendment." It did not have a chance in the convention, although the manufacturers' associations of the country and the employers' associations generally were for it. The women of both cults had ground-floor headquarters in the big hotels. And they had sent their best-dressed, best-mannered women to work for their demands.

But they might as well have worn dimmers on their eyes and dressed in gymnasium bloomers for all of the good it did them with this galaxy of boosters. The old politician who used to dominate the convention had emotions. He got a kick out of a smile on a pretty face, but those lads in the saw-toothed straw hats who zipped around like a lot of first assistant chief clerks in the general office of something or other, had no time for the ladies. These young men probably took the League of Women Voters' planks as they would accept an invoice; put it down on their books, and sent it to headquarters, but there was no nonsense about it. The platform they finally wrote looked very much like a cross between an appraiser's report and an invoice from the head of the New England branch office.

There was in the preliminary days of the convention, and indeed until the very end, a woeful lack of adornment on the coats and vests of the delegates. It wasn't the best form to go charging about the hotel lobbies with badges and buttons and tinseled cast-iron hardware clanging from one's coat lapel. It was only done by the hangover delegates who represented the dear dead past. The real badge of the convention should have been a nice

broad, deep blue stripe down the front of the vest, an insignia of the blue-bellied Yankee, for he was in control. His type ran the Republican party. Mondell, of Wyoming, was asked to make a Massachusetts speech formally opening the convention; Warren, of Michigan, to make a Massachusetts platform; and Burton, of Michigan, to make a Massachusetts nominating speech for Coolidge for President. And here was the curious thing about it: It was Massachusetts business, not the Massachusetts of heraldry, that controlled. Social Massachusetts—the Lodges, the Cabots, the Winthrops, Higginsons and the Thayers—felt just as much pain at the rise of the business crowd in the Republican party as Jim Watson, Charlie Curtis, Medill McCormick and Reed Smoot, the senators who named Harding and who were shouldered aside.

The invisible government of business—not a bad government but a new one for convention display—was in charge of the convention. And moreover it was Boston and not New York that said the final word. It was upon the whole a rather amusing and encouraging spectacle—this routing out of the sacred cod of Massachusetts, along with the bulls and bears of Wall Street, and the screaming eagle of the woolly West. In their places sat these Kiwanians, Lions and Rotarians from the busy marts of trade. For newcomers they handled themselves well. The real difference between the old crowd and the new was that the old guard tried to fool the progressives, and the new crowd tried to fool itself with the belief that there are no progressives.

CHAPTER V

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION—THE FIRST DAY

The Coolidge forces began to clean house with the speech of Theodore E. Burton, opening the convention. Burton's whole attitude was opposed to the position taken in the last four years by the congressional leaders. The convention and the crowd in the galleries cheered every utterance which called into question the wisdom of any congressional action which opposed a Coolidge position. Burton was, of course, the Coolidge choice for temporary chairman and his speech had been examined and passed upon by his administration leaders. So when Burton in his speech abandoned the irreconcilable position on the League of Nations it meant that the Republican party was preparing to take a new position. Burton accepted fully and without change the famous Bok peace plan in his speech. He declared in favor of adherence to the commissions of the League, and coöperation with the League without League membership. The Bok peace plan also provided for membership in the League's World Court without responsibility to the league and this—the Harding-Hughes-Root plan—was advocated in the key-note speech of the temporary chairman. It was a revolutionary step forward toward the mild reservationist position upon the League of Nations. Coolidge evidently did not regard the League of Nations as a closed incident, not really, whatever he may have said in his message. Parenthetically let it be said that this mollified Repub-

lican antagonism to the League of Nations is largely the result of the hard work of one of the various propaganda societies devoted to the League of Nations. Their representatives in Cleveland were delighted with Burton's speech. It proved the efficacy of four years' work.

The Burton speech was a scholarly effort. They tell of him that when he opened his campaign for mayor of Cleveland and Tom Johnson defeated him, Burton's first sentence in his first speech was a Latin quotation. In his speech opening the convention he had been speaking an hour before he drew any considerable applause and that was for prohibition. After that Mr. Burton warmed up. He got a decent but not fervid recognition when he first mentioned Coolidge. But the band did not play and the applause lasted less than a minute. Great applause greeted him when he criticized the investigation at Washington. If Fall or Daugherty had appeared after that declaration the convention would have given either an ovation. But the climax of his speech came when the temporary chairman demanded party regularity, thus gently spanking the leaders of the various blocs. These blocs have been fairly well under the control of the various propaganda groups in Washington—the farmers, the American Legion, and Anti-Saloon League and the satraps of the several invisible governments.

But the applause which greeted Burton's denunciation of the members of the blocs was no wilder than that which came when he went after the standpat congressional leadership of the Republican party, Lodge, Curtis and Longworth, who have let the President's recommendations for legislation pass unnoticed. In the burst of applause which followed this declaration for party regularity the old pilots of the representative party were formally dropped and Coolidge, being captain of ship, kept out to sea. If any one had to run independently

from this convention it would be the Republican Congress and not the President. He was boss. And his leadership—the leadership of New England—was responsible for the tone of the convention. It was a new tone —repressed, unemotional, and with precious little unnecessary outlay of noise and energy. Also money was considered sacred. Thrifty New England hired no surplus bands to cheer but not inebriate the crowds. Thrifty New England had no flags in the big hall except one broad flag and the little ones over the speaker's stand. Thrifty New England, now in charge of the Republican party, skimped on the badges, making the smallest and plainest that a Republican convention has seen for thirty years. When the pilot was dropped the extravagance, noise and emotion of the wild West and of the Pacific coast went overboard with the pilot. The awful word went lisping down the line that Coolidge economy will be practiced in the Republican campaign ahead. The boys who want expenses for election work are liable to ask Hoover or the Red Cross to relieve their suffering and under-nourishment next fall. Dropping the pilot may mean suffering and sorrow in the tents of the wicked. Meantime the old crowd was sitting on the platform at its own funeral. There they ranged—the whole lot of them—back of the speaker's stand. Phil Campbell, late chairman of the rules committee of the House of Representatives, was parliamentarian for the temporary organization. Jim Watson, who was able to get on the Indiana delegation, wandered up-stage now and then, as did Smoot, who was giving out the platform plank on agriculture, and Dave Mulvane, the handsome national committeeman from Kansas who came back on the committee after a ten-year absence. But the old crowd was merely looking on.

The administration leaders took various of the minor

statesmen joy-riding as favorite Vice-Presidential candidates during the first day of the convention. If any Vice-Presidential joy-rider had stood up and announced, he could have had the nomination. The whole trouble with the Vice-Presidential office is that a man who would announce his candidacy for it probably is not big enough to fill it.

The crowd in the galleries thinned out as noon of the first day passed. One o'clock went and half-past one, and lunch time vanished. Still Burton of Ohio talked on. When the routine work of the convention began, the galleries were only a little more than half filled. But the delegates were all there. The machine ground on without friction. Once, and only once, it stopped to put on the cut-off and make real noise. That was when the name of Andrew W. Mellon, of Pennsylvania, was announced as the maker of some motion in the regular order. Then this national convention of Chambers of Commerce and bankers and Rotarians paid sweet and polite tribute to its ideal. He appeared upon the platform in response to the demand of the crowd's cheers, whoops and hosannas of praise. We saw a frail, gray little man trembling and stage-struck, standing modestly before Chairman Burton. Amid confusion the hero handed his written resolution to the clerk as though fearing it would suddenly burst into flame. While the clarion-voiced clerk read the simple motion and the chair put it, Mr. Mellon, the great banker, Mr. Mellon who would cut the surtaxes, Mr. Mellon the savior of the upper brackets of the income tax, stood shyly while the neophytes below feasted their eyes upon him. We were out to sea now, the politicians piloting us out of the gay harbor were gone. Business was directly in charge of the ship. Coolidge was the captain, of course, and a man of importance with the crew. But here all clad in suitable gray, here with becoming modesty

as one of the trustees of the Lord, self-deprecating, gentle and smiling with proper humility and sober grace, here was one of the owners of the craft. It was a great moment for the crew. And the pilot boat was fading down the bay. The pilots in the good old days of Wall Street and Penrose never had dared to show the owner to the crew.

It was a day of triumph. This owner did not look like the man who would be next to resign from the Cabinet, and yet down in the Wisconsin delegation was a little band of rebels who declared that owner would walk the plank. So over the owner fell the shadow of LaFollette and his mutiny, and it was amid this mutiny that the convention closed its first day's work.

CHAPTER VI

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION—THE SECOND DAY

WEDNESDAY in national political conventions, which generally meet on Tuesday, is always the day upon which big things happen off stage.

Tuesday especially is the day which foreshadows the temper of the convention and behind closed doors the great committees meet, thrashing out the platform, the rules, the order of business. In these committees the real direction of the convention is formed. In this convention Wednesday was a day of tragedy for that portion of the right wing of the Republican party known as the "Old Guard." In committees it had to take orders, not because the old guard did not have majorities in the committees, but because orders came. For traditionally the old guard, which never surrenders, does obey orders.

Here is a typical instance: In the sub-committee which had been considering the foreign relation planks in the Republican committee, the old guard had a majority. The President desired the World Court as Harding, Hughes and Root saw it. He desired it endorsed, even though it is tied up with the League of Nations. That kind of a court was endorsed by Chairman Burton in his keynote speech Tuesday. There can be no doubt of Coolidge's determination to force through Congress the World Court as Harding left it. The committee drafting the platform had no faith in that court. The platform committee would have no dealings with the League of Nations. It was irreconcilable, that committee; but word

came from Mr. Butler, President Coolidge's manager, that the World Court was to be endorsed and it was endorsed. Rumor declared that Albert J. Beveridge desired to make a provision which would allow seven states upon petition to have the right of debate upon any platform declaration upon the floor of the convention, certainly a fair proposition. But orders came against that proposition and it was abandoned. Orders is orders with the right wing of the Republican party and even majorities do not affect orders. When the old guard put the insurgents out of the party organization, the old guard stopped growth within the party. Imagine what a Roosevelt ian progressive would do when he came up against the orders which easily stopped the regular Republicans backed by a majority of the platform committee. He would take joy in tearing up orders. The lust for combat would possess his soul.

But the spirit of revolt is a spirit that never has lodged in the hearts of the old guard, so the platform was uncompromisingly Coolidge's. Harmony with the old guard when it is not a matter of dealing with progressives is the most sacred thing about party conduct; so there was in the convention no open explosion, no bitter denunciation of the Massachusetts method. The old guard licked the spoon and blessed the hand that gave the medicine.

Outwardly the few hours of proceedings Wednesday were typically in the old form. The chairman of the convention, the permanent chairman, was introduced and made his speech. It was what may be expected of the discarded regulars during the whole campaign, the quintessence of blah, blah; abusing the Democrats, praising the Republicans! Such a speech as any Republican orator could make in any campaign, or easily any Democratic orator could make in any Democratic campaign.

It was fiery and impassioned and short, so the crowd that feared boredom cheered.

The luncheon hour arrived. A lake trip for the delegates had been offered; some one moved adjournment. The vote was put. The noes plainly had it, the chair declared the ayes had it!—that was the program; no one complained. The convention took its medicine as the committees were taking their medicine. As a matter of fact, from a progressive viewpoint, this Coolidge nostrum is better than the cure-all of the defeated regulars. Coolidge is not in the least radical. He is just an open-minded conservative. But he is vastly better for the country than the old guard. He has no program of revenge. He has no face to save, no axe to grind. He is not of the temple Pharisees. He is a free, brave, honest man—limited by his New England environment in his vision, and without knowledge or intuition of the motives that move the West. If he understood the Westerners, he would consider their case. But for him the West begins somewhere near Vermont and ends out near Buffalo. The rest must seem to him red Indians and chaos. He treats the West not with contempt but with a puzzled disbelief in its reality.

Yet what he did to the old guard who ignored his leadership and spurned his recommendations in the Congress, is much more deadly than anything he has done to the Westerners. He is on terms of some intimacy socialiy and politically with Senator Capper of the farm bloc and Senator Borah, who has his own bloc. But Lodge, titular leader of the Senate, and from Massachusetts, and Curtis, the Republican whip who forced anti-Coolidge measures through the Senate as the regular Republican program, get no pleasant social invitation to the White House these days. In the convention Senator Capper, president of the farm bloc, and his kind, the

Western liberals, were sad outsiders. But the insiders of the crowd that has dominated the Republican organization for twenty years, the crowd that fought Roosevelt and that nominated Harding, are insiders in name only. They may stay in as errand boys or go out as soreheads.

But the old guard never lets go. They will come back after Coolidge is gone as they came back after Roosevelt went. To the novice in politics who would do his part as a member of his party here is the first primer lesson: The party organization is self-perpetuating. It is generally impervious to ideas because ideas do not interest it. The organization primarily is interested in winning the election. After that the party organization is interested in jobs for its personnel. It is unimportant. It can be ignored by the partisan who does not want office for the emoluments or honor. If he wants office as a means of service he can generally get it in spite of the organization. And if he fails his campaign of education enlightens the voter, and so indirectly he gets the thing he desired. No good thing is lost in politics; for all the sordid aspect of the organizers and rulers of parties. This is aside from the convention story, but this should be said here if the reader is to understand the significance of this story.

The lack of the fighting spirit which departed from the party when Roosevelt left it was reflected in this eventless convention. It was heavy with monotony. Yet it ground on for another day, and millions of Americans hung around the radio hoping against hope for a good show.

It may be of interest to the millions who listened to the proceedings of the convention, to have some picture of it, to visualize the vocal impression from the radio. First, to remove preconceived impressions of other conventions in other halls, the reader should strip out of

his imagination the bower of flags that usually decorate great convention halls. Here were no flags. One great red, white and blue picture, too large for a flag, perhaps 40 by 25 feet, hung against a sand-colored silk curtain at the back of the stage. On this red, white and blue background were suspended portraits of Lincoln, McKinley and Roosevelt, done in large by some local automobile painter. Having stripped out of the imagination the flags, let the reader now remove from his preconception the bare steel ribs of the arched ceiling. Usually these bare steel ribs are wrapped in the bunting that almost invariably decorates the great American halls and furnishes a festal air for the occasion, a festal air of unreality. In the place of these stark steel ribs and girders, put in for the Cleveland convention hall, a soft, wide, beautiful, arched dome, sky-lighted, in the center of the great hall. Then over the arched dome through which filters gray light through clouded glass, put a gray sand-colored, rough-finished plastered ceiling. The effect is beautiful, and considering the inside of most American halls of convention, the effect is striking. This gray, rough-finished plaster gives tone to the entire hall, a subdued monotone, into which any splash of gay color as, for instance, the great red, white and blue hanging, comes with agreeable emphasis. It is beautifully done—this vast municipal hall that seats 15,000. The galleries rise from the floor around the oval except where a deep impressive proscenium arch of the same soft sand color but splashed with long panels in subdued blue and dull gold is thrown across the narrow end of the hall. On the proscenium arch at the head of each paneled pilaster are thin bands of dull scarlet. The whole effect is that of decent repression of color to serve by suggestion rather than direct appeal. The great, gray room solid in cement plaster, permanent and real, takes away the foolish spirit

of carnival that pervades so many convention halls. Perhaps the sense of reality which prevails in the convention as a result of these solid gray walls may, by contrast with the atmosphere of other conventions, give the impression of dullness which surely came out of this convention. But this convention with its entire lack of spontaneity, with its utter absence of dramatic interest save in a few minor contrasts, would have seemed soggy in a crystal palace or in a fairy grotto. Yet in this great sand-colored hall 1,500 delegates sitting under the eyes of 15,000 of their fellow-Americans were going through the outward form of some ritual which shall make history. It was all very real and in the great story of America unfolding for this decade, this convention will have its proper place. The proceedings as they unwind out of the orders of the managers of the party had a curiously unreal appearance. Wednesday, in the short session, when Mondell, a typical reactionary standpatter of the old Cannon days, seemed to be a puppet on a string, his blah-blah speech abusing the Democrats and extolling the grand old party, carrying convictions to no one, interesting only those who are traditionally minded partisans, touching no important economic question, he and his talk might have been easily the manufactured phonographic patter of a chemically devised automaton, a Frankenstein creation of the old party gods. And yet this automatic echo of the dead past in a cutaway coat and suitable gray trousers was really doing something important in the history of America. Perhaps he was a herald or outrider announcing the coming of the new era. Perhaps he was only the visible pallbearer of a departed spirit.

CHAPTER VII

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION--THE THIRD DAY

The Republican national convention, held decently and in order, adjourned after three days of circumspect conduct without producing a first-class thrill nor making a serious blunder. Always it ran true to form, taking its color and character from its Presidential candidate, whose honesty, simple courage and intelligent conservatism undramatized the day's work and always enforced business-like procedure. The platform in its intention was comfortably conservative. No contest before the convention involved a question of principle except the flash of the Wisconsin delegation in its futile resolutions struggle. No candidate, even for Vice-President, appeared before the convention whose character or record would appeal to the basic emotion of enthusiasm. So, without anything deeper than a business-like confidence in the wisdom of its course, and the stability of its standard bearers, the convention went about its routine. It was Coolidge en masse.

So much for the externals of this meeting. The soul of it was consecrated to the salvation of business, Big Business first, but little business if possible. To these men who accept it, this is no sordid creed of mere gain. To them it is the gospel of the excellent order that is. At its best, this party in its present expression, now wholly conservative with no liberal flaw, spot or blemish in its creed, represents the moral yearnings of a benevolent

plutocracy. At its worst it breeds Daugherty and the Ohio gang. The story of the last day's procedure of the convention is most interesting, for as the hours passed it was evident that somewhere deep in the past of this party, struggling for release, lies the memory of a real tradition of human liberty. The speech of President M. L. Burton, of Michigan University, nominating Coolidge, was a splendid piece of oratorical salesmanship. Dr. Burton, slim, youthful, passionate, keen and humorous, stood like the picture of the young man in the correspondence course advertisements laying down the law to the dumb, driven corporation directors. Yet, bristling with the spirit of the salesman was the call of an idealism which his good sense was forever holding in check. No greater speech nominating any candidate has been made in a Republican convention since Robert Ingersoll nominated Blaine as "The Plumed Knight."

When he had finished, the demonstration for Coolidge began. It was weak at the start, shy, ashamed and diffident. It threatened to die in the second minute. Then the band struck up a claque and the organ began a foolish singing tune and swung into "Onward, Christian Soldiers"—the old Bull Moose battle cry. To the Roosevelt ians it seemed sacrilege.

After a verse of the hymn, the organ led the crowd as it sang some old war tunes, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," "Maryland," "Marching Through Georgia"—all songs of a voice that is still. The singing was only crooning; the words were archaic "da-das" and "la-las"; mostly it was women's trebles that sang, resembling the voices of mothers at homely work in an olden day. Those old songs once roused the old party to a passion of faith that moved mountains. How those old tunes roared in diapason through the conventions of the seventies and eighties when the Grand Army of the Republic was the

invisible government that ruled the land! But now in this assemblage of snappy young bond salesmen the old tunes only echoed out of a fervid past. The old era has gone.

After the organ stopped in half a minute the crowd quieted. A fine motherly woman from California in a purple dress and lace shawl seconded Coolidge's nomination. The crowd listened respectfully, but when Congressman Martin Madden tried to add another seconding speech, the restive crowd jammered and yowled. It was hungry, and one o'clock was passing. So it greeted with scant courtesy the Vermont man who added another seconding speech to a dull program. The flicker of sentiment which quivered into life with Burton's fiery speech and died in reminiscencing turned to ribald mocking. The seconding speeches went on. A Kansas woman came, and spoke with a clarion voice that gave a thrill to the crowd. She occupied less than a minute, and got back two minutes' applause. But the man who followed her —a New Jersey negro—wore out his audience and quit amid catcalls.

The thumbs of the convention were down on oratory. The 14,000 were hungry. The Southern orator who followed the New Jersey man made his gestures before a howling wilderness of human monkeys. It was business as usual or bust with the snappy lads in the delegates' chairs. They began walking out. A New Yorker was fed to the lions. Being a New Yorker, he got respectful attention for a minute, but after that minute passed, the roaring beasts opened their mouths and he ducked out of danger. No other orators dared to appear.

The convention had proceeded two days and a half without a roll-call. Some one tried to suspend the roll-call on the Presidential nomination, but it was obviously out of order, so the roll-call proceeded and Coolidge was

nominated amid an only decent yip of cheering, and the noon recess came.

The gala afternoon session opened late. The big sporting event was delayed while the owners were talking with the jockeys. The story of the background of the Vice-Presidential nomination is worth repeating. It reveals the only time when Butler, the Coolidge manager, was in danger of losing control of the convention. The story begins a little after midnight Thursday morning. At that time Senator Wadsworth, young Teddy Roosevelt and a group of middle-of-the-road politicians, friends of Lodge and of the old guard but more or less close to the President, met to put up a Vice-President.

They got the White House on the phone and word came back that it was to be Borah. The names of the conferees were given out in an early morning press report and Borah's nomination was formally ordered.

About three o'clock in the morning a group of Westerners from Iowa, Idaho, Michigan, Kansas and Missouri—as insurgent as the times would permit—hearing the Borah orders, went up to Manager Butler's rooms to protest. He received the delegation cordially enough and listened to the protests. McNider, of Iowa, keen for Kenyon, anxious to convince the kingmaker of Kenyon's fitness, said, "Now, look here, Mr. Butler, you've got Kenyon wrong. He's liberal, of course, and for the farmers, and all that. That's why he'll do. But he is no radical. He doesn't believe in—well, he doesn't believe in——" McNider was trying to find something radical that Kenyon did not believe in and had not voted for. "Well, he's not for the recall of judicial decisions or any of that stuff." It was the best McNider could do, but it was too much for New England. New England almost grinned. Then up spoke Governor Groesbeck, of Michigan, and said: "Now, Mr. Butler, we may as well get

down to business; I suppose we are here to get orders to be for Borah. Well, we have the orders, and I'm going to bed." And he went. But the others kept protesting that Borah would refuse; insisting that he had written as late as Wednesday that he would refuse if nominated. But the Warwick on his throne solemnly replied that he knew what he was talking about, and that Borah would not refuse. Two reporters who had slipped into the delegation, went out, meeting Senator Jim Watson in his shirt sleeves in the corridor parading with Lodge at half mast. A third senator came alongside and asked: "Well, who is it?" Sardonically, Watson answered: "We don't know, but Butler is in there now telling a delegation that it's Curtis."

Whereupon the reporter cut in: "Well, Senator, I don't want to contradict you, but I've just come out of Butler's room there, and he's telling the crowd that it's Borah."

Watson's face lightened up in sorrow more than anger, and he said to Senator Lodge, "Senator, these are strange days and stranger nights, when three United States senators the night before the nomination get the news from headquarters out of the mouths of reporters." And so saying the senatorial trio went to bed.

But the reporters questioned even the kingmaker. They got Senator Borah at home on the long distance telephone, told him what Butler was saying and doing, and listened to as fine a line of cannonading denial as ever was put up. Borah was so angry that he asked Senator Beveridge to make a speech on the convention floor withdrawing his name. Then Borah told the press associations to broadcast his absolute and final denial.

At daybreak Lowden, Hoover and Borah having withdrawn, and Kenyon having been weighed and found wanting because he was the first leader and the original mover for the farm bloc, it looked good for the friends

of Curtis. Newspapers issued Curtis extras. Then Butler talked to Washington again. It was a question in politics between Curtis, the Republican whip who had officially opposed several measures in defiance of the President, representing one wing of the conservatives, or a liberal who had differed with the President on matters of fundamental factional party policy. The White House seemed to have chosen to stand by a liberal rather than a dissenting conservative, and at ten o'clock it was announced that the Vice-Presidential candidate would be Kenyon of Iowa.

Now, Kenyon's name, more than that of any other possible candidate, gave the old crowd a chill. For Kenyon had headed riots against the Senate organization for ten years. He had been put on the circuit bench to get him out of the Senate, and the Senate, in exchange, got Senator Brookhart, a radical. So the leaders of the old guard were sad and sore, but orders is orders! Curtis faded out of the picture and the favorite sons appeared who wanted their names presented as Vice-Presidential candidates to get them into the legislature.

It was with heads both bloody and bowed that the congressional leaders came into the big gray hall at three o'clock to obey orders. When Kenyon was placed in nomination in a ninety-word speech by McNider, of Iowa, scant and impolite applause greeted his name. Then an Arizonian named Governor Lowden as a surprise, and the convention broke into the first spontaneous demonstration in three drab days. The standards of the states began to move, mostly the standards of small states. The bloody and bowed heads of the leaders wore the suspicion of a wink and a gleam of hope. But the spasm soon was over. For Lowden's name was withdrawn by the Illinois delegation. Then by way of diversion in a

dreary hour an Indianian named Senator Jim Watson. The band started cheerfully: "Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here," and paraded the hall for a few minutes. It was a hollow show. Jeffries, of Nebraska, presented Dawes. A procession started, faltered, failed, and the roll-call droned on. Tincher, of Kansas, named Senator Curtis. It was a dud; nothing happened. Orders clearly were orders, so far as vocal demonstrations went.

But it was only lip service that the congressional leaders gave to the White House. Of old it has been a congressional privilege to nominate Vice-Presidents. Always they have picked at least the posterior of the ticket. They gave McKinley his Roosevelt, Roosevelt his Fairbanks, Taft his Sherman, and so by way of seething revolt they gave Coolidge his Lowden. The Senate leadership developed its backbone at the last. And orders finally were not orders. They were just scraps of paper.

Out in the country, millions of listeners-in upon the radio heard the cheering that followed the nomination of Lowden, and under the cheering got this:

A Voice: "But I tell you here is his letter."

Another Voice: "Well, what can we do? They have nominated him."

First Voice: "Yes, but here is his letter; he says he won't take it!"

The listeners-in identified the first voice as that of Chairman Mondell of the convention. The second voice never was identified.

The First Voice continued: "But what are we going to do?"

The Second Voice: "I tell you it won't do to let this convention adjourn with the nomination refused by its Vice-Presidential candidate."

First Voice: "Well, why not get him on the phone?"

The Second Voice: "I have got him on the phone. You can talk to him three minutes. Adjourn the convention for an hour."

The First Voice: "But how are you——"

And some blat of the band drowned out the sentence. The next thing the radio auditors heard was the motion to adjourn. They knew that something had happened. Then came the night session; the reading of Lowden's letter and the nomination of Dawes. The administration tried to name Hoover. It had abandoned Kenyon when it failed during the afternoon session to name him. Dawes was nominated by the congressional leaders, the senators, the old guard of political recalcitrants at the extreme left of the left who had memories to serve, axes to grind, jobs to get and revenges to consecrate. So they left the convention reasonably happy.

The Republican convention had conducted itself with typical equanimity, order and sophistication. The invisible governments of the land made small impression upon it. The high protective tariff societies were in evidence, but they were diverted from their final purposes by the liberal forces in the party. The League of Women Voters had small influence. The League got the World Court not because they were for it; but in spite of the fact that they were for it. The convention begged the question raised by child labor and had very little to say about civil service. The Ku Klux Klan was in evidence in the convention, but it was striving to keep down any denunciation of its activities and it succeeded. The Klan does not mean much to a Republican convention; nor does the Klan mean any vital thing in the life of the average Republican voter. The Anti-Saloon League had its way with the convention as it had its way later with the Democratic convention. It is the most powerful organization in America of its kind. The National Cham-

ber of Commerce went home happy and the American Federation of Labor went home angry.

So the great convention adjourned. Outwardly it was staged for a clash between New England business conservatives and the ultra-political conservatives of the organization from the West. But it became the meeting place and battle ground of a score of great forces in American life, the subterranean forces—the leagues, the Klan, the societies, the unions. And when the Republican convention adjourned the wise men, soothsayers, astrologers of these hidden inner forces packed their tents and went to New York. Little they cared for convention pronouncements, as a final aim in their work. A platform declaration was worth fighting for, but having been lost or won, it was merely a counter in the game. The party platform pledge even was not of first importance to those who control the real organs of government.

Thus have the invisible governments of the country risen above parties. The parties still cling to the counters and playthings of the nominal and visible governments—the constitutional government of the land; but the forces that make and assemble public opinion, the forces that call the like-minded together in masses, the forces that have risen above government and command government, use the parties as convenient instruments to their will.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION—THE SUNDAY BEFORE

The problem of the national Democratic convention differed so vitally from that of the Republican convention that the two conventions might have been entirely separate political institutions. The Democrats had made no choice in their primary for President; their platform was uncertain, and candidates for Vice-President had not even been considered remotely. So we found excitement, drama, clash and struggle in the Democratic convention where in the Republican convention had been placid, innocuous routine.

New York was as excited about the coming of the national Democratic convention as the smallest American town would be that could decently hold the convention. St. Louis, Denver, San Francisco and Kansas City have welcomed national conventions in the last quarter of a century, but none has shown more flags, more excitement, nor more running around in the Chamber of Commerce doing nothing in particular than has little old New York.

Hickville is Hickville, no matter if it is on the Hudson or the Missouri, and in Hickville-on-the-Hudson flags were flying on Fifth Avenue, and every one in town was eager to tell you that they cost a quarter of a million dollars. In Hickville-on-the-Hudson various committees were looking after hotel rates, assigning delegations to

various hotels and bootlegging tickets to the convention with all their might and main.

Also the natives of the village prepared much entertainment for the delegates. Several theaters were chartered by divers rich and deserving Democrats for the whole work of the convention. Admittance to these theaters was by invitation and not by ticket. Boat rides on the creek by moonlight, journeys to the country, trips to the slums and various New York expressions of the strawberry social were slated for different roofs. Now, while it sounds gay, Mamma and the girls had no cause to worry much about Papa and the boys, more than they ordinarily would if the menfolks were going to a district Rotary convention, for if Mamma wasn't there Aunt Nettie came. She came as a delegate along with Papa and she proceeded to watch him out of the corner of her eye. She was really more intent in keeping Papa off the primrose path than she was in staying off herself. For the lady delegates, who came in rather large numbers, apparently felt it a stern duty to go out to a roof garden or a boating excursion now and then, just to see how the other half lives, which took the joy out of life for Papa.

Woman suffrage has done more things with politics that were undreamed of years ago than the proponents of suffrage imagined. Three or four hundred women wearing official badges, sitting as delegates in caucuses, running around officially with the men, virtually have drawn blue baby ribbon through the inside of politics, its underwear, so to speak, making it highly clean and sweet, a sort of a certified product, out of that which once was wild and gay and free.

Thirty years ago a delegate from the hinterland to a New York convention could go home with his tonsils sunburned from looking at the high buildings, and with the cords of his neck badly in need of retreading. But

after three weeks in New York, in which the delegates got used to it, they went home to tell the boys what a punk town was this little old Hickville-on-the-Hudson. This by way of introduction to the National Democratic convention. Call it background. But this stage setting must be erected before the story of the convention can be told.

CHAPTER IX

THE LIFE HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

So now let us go on with the story. This convention typified most Democratic gatherings of the past forty years. The life history of Democratic national conventions follows a rather definite course. Typically in a Democratic convention there is a leading candidate who has nearly a majority of the delegates and who rarely wins. Frequently the two leading candidates in the earlier ballots destroy themselves and a modest leader of a rather inconspicuous minority rises into second place, and finally after several days' balloting takes the nomination with the necessary two-thirds.

Cox at San Francisco, Wilson at Baltimore, and Cleveland in his first nomination, had such careers. The nomination of Bryan in '96 at Chicago differed from this course only in the fact that Bryan in Chicago in '96 was less conspicuous before the convention met than were Cleveland and Wilson and Cox.

Alton Parker in 1904 at St. Louis represented the organized conservatism of the Atlantic seaboard states and the South, and that year the Democrats failed to function according to the ancient Democratic tradition.

This year the stage was set in the good old-fashioned Democratic way, and when the Democratic convention followed its regular course McAdoo had to be eliminated and Smith was fairly sure to follow him. Then typically would begin the rise of some rather modest candidate who gradually increased his strength when McAdoo and

Smith had finished tearing each other's hearts out in the death struggle. Over this death struggle hovered the spirits of the great Democratic dead who have entered the first gates of oblivion through such a struggle—Mitchell Palmer and Champ Clark and Judson Harmon, David Bennett Hill, Thomas F. Bayard and Horatio Seymour. A Democratic convention has to smell the blood of a death struggle before it can decide whom it will honor.

All of which is a figure of speech, meaning that in Democratic conventions generally the second-choice man wins. And when two strong antagonists meet, neither is the second choice of two-thirds. The second-choice man is the inoffensive and inconspicuous Democrat who remains benevolently neutral while the leading antagonists are staging their major combat. In the cast of characters of the Democratic convention in 1924 Smith and McAdoo were playing Br'er Fox and the Tar Baby, and John W. Davis of West Virginia was playing Br'er Rabbit, lying low and saying nothing. He was in a perfectly safe position to be the second-choice nominee for the convention, but he had no great point of advantage. The Davis boom ran a bad risk. It was exposed too soon. The first day of a convention is no place for an aspiring second-choice candidate to show strength, for all those back of him snap at him. Bryan dashed out to bite at Davis by calling attention to the fact that Davis was a Morgan attorney.

But as a matter of fact these Democratic conventions have in the rank and file of the delegations much more political acumen and discretion than the rank and file in Republican conventions display. A Republican convention is led by its bosses. There the delegates, generally, take orders. Plans are made more in secret. Little is left for decision on the floor of the convention.

After many weary days of wrangling the sense of the meeting in a Democratic convention is generally the sense of the delegates on the floor. In a Republican convention the sense of the meeting would be the sense of the leaders assembled in the various rooms—perhaps a higher sense, everything considered, but not a democratic impulse.

The face of this Democratic convention that assembled in June, 1924, was the urban face. In its composite were a good many lines from the map of Ireland. The South was conspicuous by its clothes, by a certain hauteur of manner, by a certain aristocratic cut of its jib.

But the Irish, the city Irish, from every town of more than 100,000 in the United States, were in New York filling up the delegations of even prairie states like Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and perhaps making the preponderance of the mountain mining states like Montana and Colorado. They seemed to make Smith possible as a nominee. These Irish for the most part were bosses and sub-bosses in city Democratic organizations. They were second and third generation Irish, and sometimes one of them developed talent as an orator.

When it came to putting the favorite sons from the high-grass states before the convention as Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, these young Irish orators turned their impassioned blah! blah! on to the convention with an awful lot of crackling static.

It is a sad commentary upon the wisdom of democracy, that instead of occupying itself with the deep issues that are stirring the hearts of the world of politics, the poverty of mind of the folks is evidenced by the fact that here in the hotels and in the convention halls the chief issue was not politics, but the bigotry of religion. We are come upon sad days.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST DAY'S SESSION AT NEW YORK

In a tight and tidy hall, with decorations over the ventilators so the delegates could stew in their own juice, the Democratic convention met at noon, Tuesday, June 24, 1924, with 15,000 spectators who could see much and hear badly amid the much larger audience of millions at the radio who could hear well and see nothing. It is the new order. The convention is no longer held within four walls, but is out in the broad universe. In another dozen years arrangements will be made by which the voice of the people will get into the convention and sass back.

If the cosmic eye could have seen the convention picture for the multitude it would have reported an oval bowl about 150 feet deep and two-fifths as wide, all plastered with American flags, over which was vaulted a great flag 100 feet long suspended from the ceiling. Back of the flags that covered the huge oval bowl were the galleries packed with pink, sweaty faces before which flickered thousands of fans that stirred the humid, heavy air. When the crowds in the galleries stood, the dark clothes of the men gave tone to the picture. But through the long hours of the convention proceedings, while the crowd sat, the splash of color in the women's clothes illuminated beautifully the sides of the bowl, and humanity lifted a rather ordinary piece of commercial decoration into a lovely thing. And the cosmic eye reporting this to the world would have brought out something well worth seeing. Madison Square Garden, the work of

Stanford White, good a generation ago, to-day, as American halls go, is not much either for size or beauty. Scores of towns of a quarter of a million or more have larger and better halls.

As the first crowds came into the convention, a band played, but there was no early enthusiasm. The long distance from the Civil War was emphasized by the fact that a McAdoo singing club came in with its band playing the tune once used for relating the fact that "John Brown's Body Lies A-Mould'ring in the Grave," and promising to "Hang Jeff Davis on a Sour Apple Tree." The same tune was used an hour later for the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," once sacred to Republican conventions. In St. Louis twenty years ago an innocent Yankee band played the tune, "Marching Through Georgia," and nearly broke up the Democratic party. After that hoodoo Alton B. Parker, the nominee of the convention, had no show.

His eminence, Cardinal Hayes, invoked the divine blessing upon the convention. The band played "The Star Spangled Banner"; 10,000 little American flags fell like confetti from the ceiling, after which Anna Case led the throng in singing "The Star Spangled Banner."

Then Senator Pat Harrison was introduced as the temporary presiding officer, the band played "Dixie"—and Senator Pat cut loose. His first sentence, a protest against the corruption in Washington, brought no great applause. The doubt and dismay of the McAdoo forces, at least a third of the delegates, were evident. But later the enthusiasm rose to its usual Democratic height. Yipping, yelling, yowling Democrats released their emotions and exercised their lungs every few minutes as Senator Pat charged ahead with his keynote. He used the word "reactionary," a word avoided as though it were a naughty word in the Cleveland Republican convention.

And the convention greeted the word with hearty jeers and the fervid applause of loathing.

If the Harrison speech and the applause which punctuated it were any indication of the temper of the convention, it may be assumed that the Democratic campaign in 1924 is to be made an attack upon Republican corruption. Evidently the outs propose to air the oil scandals and go after Newberry, Fall, Denby, Daugherty, and Mellon.

Another feature of the first day of the convention was the display of loyalty for Woodrow Wilson. When Grover Cleveland died in 1908, his farewell in the Democratic convention came amid factional divisions which made at least half of the convention sit in disapproving silence when his name was mentioned. Bryan was in command of the Democratic party when Cleveland died, but to-day Bryan, while still a power, still the greatest living Democrat, is not the undisputed leader of his party. Wilson still is the leader of his party, and from the tomb he holds more Democratic loyalty to his ideas than any man now living. There seemed to be no doubt that the second line of attack upon the Republicans would be from the Wilson position.

The Democrats were no more afraid to speak out the words "League of Nations" than Pat Harrison was to use the word "reactionary." And the issue which was supposed to be buried in 1920 was destined to become one of the live, constructive issues of the campaign of 1924, perhaps the only one.

So the first day's session came and went—noisy, but dull, and prophetic of nothing, just a flash of color, a flare of music, a pandemonium of oratory and confusion. A savage ghost dance would have been more interesting and just as significant of the forces that are moving our civilization.

CHAPTER XI

THE SECOND DAY'S PORTENTOUS THRILL

Pumping, pumping, pumping, all the early mid-hours of the second long summer day of the convention, the Democratic orators groaned and puffed and sweated. Nothing came out of the spout. No emotions rose. A few maudlin kioodles were lifted, and gave the band the cue to man the pumps again. Eleven o'clock, twelve o'clock, one o'clock passed, and the pumps still creaked.

Senator Walsh, of Montana, the permanent chairman of the convention, sounded his tocsin. It was not a clarion note. A well-written speech it was, logical, eloquent, convincing to every one outside of Madison Square Garden. He trumpeted the wickedness and corruption of the Republicans, told of the malfeasance of Fall, the graft of Forbes, the chicanery of Daugherty and the derelictions of other Republicans in high estate. Now and then a feeble whoop of approval rose and the band blew itself red in the face, but failed to fan the passions of an unterrified Democracy. They were cold and chaste, and beautiful—those Democratic brows shining below Senator Walsh, calm as marble, cool as an island of potato salad floating in a pond of pea soup. Senator Walsh, who was destined to come out of the convention a Democrat of the first water, was not to make his name as an orator.

Roosevelt's name was mentioned, and got a languid handclap, and when Senator Walsh in an oriflamme of enthusiasm defied the world to name a single Democrat who was tainted with corruption or had betrayed the

American people, the Smith delegates began to snicker, and when Walsh added a face-saving clause, "while he was in public office," an audible giggle buzzed over the great bowl of potato salad like a bluebottle fly.

When Senator Walsh quit speaking the mechanical claque of the demonstration wheezed and moaned for ten minutes while the band manned the pumps and every one was thinking of something else.

A good-looking woman from one of the Carolinas, wearing a nice big '24 model blue garden hat, appeared as chairman of the committee on credentials, and the band played, "Oh, You Great, Big, Beautiful Doll," which helped a little bit. Some of the old sentimental songs of the South were also heralded by the band. Then a Northern Union army song, "The Battle Cry of Freedom," followed by another, "Tenting To-night," engaged the delegates while the mechanics of the convention were speeding up. It was unutterably dull—this great convention of the Democracy. Its dullness did not come because of any lack of spontaneity in the proceedings. Democratic conventions are rarely bossed. This convention was free, untrammeled, and deadly, until nearly two o'clock. It was obvious that the convention had not heard its clarion note. The 1,400 delegates and 14,000 spectators all were thinking earnestly of something else.

A good-looking young Southerner, Forney Johnston, a practicing attorney in Washington, son of the late senator from Alabama and accredited to that state as a delegate, appeared in the speaker's stand at the beginning of the roll-call asking for nominations for President. He read rather a didactic essay, presumably about Underwood, but did not name his man. The delegates visited, fumed a bit, walked around the lobby, when suddenly out of the rather dull essay appeared a clear-cut, left-hand jab at the Ku Klux Klan, but not naming the Klan. With a

swish and a roar came the emotions of that great convention out of the pump. As the waters come down from Ladore so did the whoops of joy and yells of approval rise from that convention. It was a great hour for the Irish. They grabbed banners and marched. It took ten minutes for the clamor to subside. Then the young orator spoke for four or five minutes, and again landed upon the plexus of the Klan mightily. He named the Klan outright. Again the roof lifted, but this time the Klan forces, which were strong in the convention, possibly constituting a majority of the delegates, made their angry disapproval obvious. Kansas, for instance, sat sullenly holding her banner tight. So did Oklahoma and Georgia. Texas wabbled only a little. There was dissension in Indiana, but Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Maryland made a joyful noise before the Lord.

At last a subject had been injected into the proceedings of the convention about which the delegates had opinions deep enough to reach their emotions. The twenty-five minutes devoted to cheering the man who bravely and publicly branded the Klan afforded the first genuinely dramatic moment in the two-day session of the convention.

Beside that demonstration the farewell to Wilson was tame. It was obvious then that the convention had been dull only because the delegates had but a remote and academic interest in Republican corruption, in the League of Nations, in the challenge of plutocracy at the Cleveland convention, and in all the contentions which politicians supposed were the great issues of the coming campaign. When the issue that touched the deeper convictions of the convention was broached, the delegates responded. Then the pumps brought forth the waters from the vasty deeps, and the politicians who had hoped

to carry this campaign upon one set of obvious issues, found themselves abandoned and aghast.

After Alabama's orator sat down, Arkansas presented Senator Robinson. His name brought forth hardly the perfunctory applause that should have been accorded to a senatorial leader of his party.

Senator Phelan, of California, who was to present the name of McAdoo, produced a genuine demonstration. He talked all of the gimp out of his candidate. His long speech would have stopped the nomination in a Democratic convention of Thomas Jefferson running on a ticket with Andrew Jackson. Doubtless the speech was one of those inspired orations which candidates force upon nominating orators. The discourse was filled with dissertations about McAdoo's record—a good record and valuable in the campaign—but of no particular use in a convention speech. The senator did his best with the package that was handed to him, but his effort was lost and the effect he might have had with a short, passionate Celtic outburst of eloquence, letting the dates and the record go hang, was entirely lost. In the last climactic moment of the oration, Phelan raised his arms and his voice in a burst of fervor and named his man. It was a signal so plain and the response was a demonstration so evidently prearranged that the effect of what followed was badly hampered by its conspicuous mechanical contrivance.

The McAdoo demonstration burst upon the convention not like a conflagration, but like a set piece of fireworks in a park, its realism defeating the spirit of its reality. The parade of the states started and for five minutes surged around the floor of the convention, but only the little states were surging—the mountain states and the South. The great delegations remained unmoved. A lovely girl on the shoulders of bandannaed cowboys was

followed by a quartet of white-clad women from California, very beautifully leading the parade of the states, but alas, most unconvincing in its prearrangement. The galleries cheered and from all the delegations there was bandanna waving, handclapping and the clatter of genuine applause. Ten minutes, fifteen minutes, twenty minutes passed, while this din continued. A fight arose in the Colorado delegation, which was divided, and the state banner fell in the mêlée.

McAdoo singing clubs tried to lift their voices in noble song. In the end of the oval, just above the press gallery, a group of white-clad, sophisticated city Irish lads, perhaps twenty in number, were yelling "Oil, oil, oil!" but much good their yelling did. They might as well have been playing a jew's-harp to the obbligato of Niagara Falls. Twenty minutes, twenty-five minutes, half an hour passed, and still the din kept on. It was apparent that the Klan, which had been taking its medicine from the Underwood orator, was having its sweet revenge in boosting McAdoo.

Finally the chairman's gavel stopped the McAdoo show and the convention closed.

But the day brought forth its fruit. It was evident that unless some miracle of leadership appeared in the convention during the next twenty-four hours to divert a growing spirit of bigotry and race hatred, born in the day's convention, all the fine, high, patriotic plans of those who hoped to fight the issues of this campaign along lines of economic, moral, social and political progress will fail. Against this line of staple and fancy devils of hatred and prejudice, men like LaFollette and Coolidge and Davis and Dawes, who have something to say about American politics worth hearing, will charge in vain. Progress must mark time and all the sound and fury of the campaign will be as an idiot's tale, ending in nothing.

CHAPTER XII

THE GHOST-DANCING DAYS

The convention in third session opened with a bang right after the Lord's Prayer. The cayenne pepper began to fly. Governor Sweet of Colorado started to speak, seconding the name of McAdoo, when the crowd began crying, "Oil, oil, oil!" and hisses, catcalls and boos greeted these "oil" outbursts, and for five minutes the crowd threatened to get away from the chairman. The gavel hammered and the chair called vainly for order. The band brayed and bazoos snorted, but finally the raps of the gavel quieted the crowd. Then, during three minutes of calm, Sweet proceeded. At his climax there was a wild explosion for McAdoo, but it was not important. The crowd knew the big show was coming and was impatient at interruptions.

Connecticut was called, yielded to New York and off went the roof.

Canned joy—mechanically produced noise, sirens, fire alarms, automatic bassos, all manned by machinist-operators at three dollars an hour—was the New York substitute for what a dozen or twenty years ago was the human voice in the moments of midsummer madness under the delirium of politics. So by steel and brass and bronze bellowing while levers were turned, the old home town paid tribute to its hero for more than an hour. Al Smith's demonstration blared its futile noise upon the program of the national Democratic convention.

At first, during perhaps half an hour, the human element led the various horns and trumpets electrically operated. No one can doubt that the human voices spoke a sincere love and fine respect for the town's hero. The galleries were filled with New Yorkers who had come to pay tribute to their governor. Cynics said the hall was packed, that the gates were opened with the password "Smith." But cynics always talk that way when a great outpouring of the people's approval breaks on a convention. Packed or not, the hall was for Smith, and for thirty minutes or so the crowd was happy, noisy and proud of itself.

The thing was beautifully stage-managed; Belasco at his best could have done no better. The human voice drowned the mechanical tinkle and blare of the metal. Marching clubs bearing banners waited in half a dozen aisles and on schedule swept through the hall. It was pretty good. Flags fluttered. From a near-by building hundreds of pounds of confetti were showered into the ventilators of the roof of the hall. Hats went into the air and banners were trailed about as the cheering delegates and occupants of the galleries threw themselves into the business of the huge claque with unmistakable enthusiasm.

But after the half hour the show was over and the metallic uproar began. From under the din of the voices appeared the brass and steel devices of the devil to make silly, nerve-wracking noise, every fire alarm in the building was turned on. Police sirens screamed into the radio trumpets. Brass lips took up the clatter that human lips could no longer continue. So for another hour we had the newest thing in convention clamor—canned joy.

Franklin Roosevelt's nominating speech for Governor Smith was a model of its kind—temperate, well written, eloquent in the proper place and never demagogic—a

clear, strong, happy speech. Its impassioned climax set off the big Smith demonstration.

After the demonstration, the seconding speeches and then speeches nominating the little fellows filled the dull afternoon. The delegates began to vanish. Empty benches began to shine out. At four o'clock the orators were talking to the radio receivers and to such ox-eyed delegates as sat gaping at the speaker's stand, not realizing that nothing would happen. An interminable procession of nobodies followed, nominating anybody they could think of. Glass, a couple of Davises, Barney Google, Doctor Copeland, Meredith, Santa Claus, Ritchie, the Smith and Brooks Brothers, Walsh, Ibid and Anon, were passed before the gaping, upturned faces of the delegates as Presidential possibilities, before the cataract of oratory was dammed. The free and unbossed convention was shouting its battle cry of freedom, which, put into simple language, means, "Isn't It Grand to Be Bughouse?"

While this cataclysmic rain of flapdoodle was falling upon the emptying benches of the convention, four dozen earnest, sweating women and men were endeavoring to write the Democratic national platform. They had been at their "loved employ" since the Saturday before the convention. The chairman of the committee on resolutions had been chosen weeks before. He thought he had a draft of the platform. Then Bryan came to town and the draft disappeared.

It is odd about Bryan. For three years and fifty-one weeks of every quadrennium Bryan holds a commission as the "national old dear." Everybody loves him, pokes fun at him, ignores him, pretends he is dead and laments the neglect of the undertaker. Then, during the week of the national Democratic convention, Bryan suddenly appears in shining armor, a plumed knight of the preva-

lent righteousness, and becomes a force in American politics. Then he goes out on the Chautauqua circuit, kicks off the crystal slippers and puts on the pumpkin for a headpiece. But this was his week to shine. He was dominating the platform committee, he was bound to make himself felt in this convention and in the history of his country for the next four years. He drifted with apparent aimlessness about the political hotels of New York, shaking hands with everybody, smiling amiably—certainly didn't look like the plumed knight. Within the last four years he has gaunted down, and is almost thin. He appeared in the convention one day wearing a whacking big red badge upon his abdomen. The busy, business-like young men of the new generation in the Democratic party, nattily dressed urbanites, formed a curious contrast to this gracious gentleman of the old school, who moved like a specter from the past through the convention throngs.

It probably was the influence of Bryan and the impress of Bryan upon the Democratic party that made this year's platform threaten to cover everything in the known world. As it stood at midnight of June 26 it was the longest platform ever presented to a convention, and it seemed likely that three or four planks would be debated on the floor of the convention. As early as the third day of the convention the platform committee felt that it would be impossible to work out a compromise upon the Ku Klux Klan. The Klansmen were hoping for a plank that would insult them without naming them. The League of Nations also was a bone of contention. The Eastern Democrats seemed to fear the League and wished to avoid its endorsement. Possibly this was due to the left-over animosity of the Irish and the Germans to the League four years ago. The strength of the League was in the West. It seemed possible that pro-

hibition would come into the convention for final settlement, but there could be no hope for the wets of any satisfactory expression, even from the floor of the convention.

It seemed more and more likely after the fourth day of the convention that a rather nondescript candidate would be selected by the convention, and thus the importance of the platform loomed large, and it was rather disconcerting to contemplate the obvious fact that the mind of the convention was surrendering to the passions. Much more time and energy were being spent upon the Klan plank than upon the economic issues. The brains of the Democratic party apparently were to have a rest, and in this convention it was thinking with its spleen and producing most of its intellectual processes through its liver.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BIG SECOND ACT

Four days—Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday —a thousand or fifteen hundred delegates and alternates sat trying to make history in the national Democratic convention and they made only noise. It is odd to think that these fifteen hundred men and women officially charged with the job of naming a President and putting out a platform could do absolutely nothing toward the ends in view in four days. It is even more curious that fifteen thousand people should sit around the fifteen hundred in an idle and gaping conclave watching the smaller group do nothing with all its might and main for four long days; four long days sweltering in an atmosphere about as congenial as, and somewhat resembling, green pea soup, sticky, stinky, and stale. And the queerest thing of all is that millions of their fellow countrymen, with ears glued to radio receivers, were wasting centuries of time listening to the futile howls and hoots of the fifteen thousand, the dull and uninspiring oratory of a score or two of mediocre talkers from the fifteen hundred, all meaningless, mostly stupid, and generally of very little consequence. It is one of the prices of liberty. Scores, probably hundreds, of small facets of the crystal ball of public opinion have to be turned to the light, before we can see the truth. Dozens of little interests have to be soberly discussed—and rejected, before we can know what is worthy. This nominating of a flock of insignificant men has to be endured. Each somewhat

represents a cause. To this pass have our countless agencies of public opinion brought us in our interest in politics. It is the stupid preliminary of the larger performance. It is as though one hundred million people should stand in front of the side-shows listening to the barkers forever telling of the wonder and virtues of the painted snakes, the painted living skeletons, the painted bearded women, pictured upon the bellying canvas signs, patient, almost admiring, these hundred millions, eagerly hoping while they waited through the long hot days and tedious nights that the performance in the main tent might some day begin and be worth seeing.

The fourth day of the convention was as eventless as its predecessors. It is unlikely that any other group of fifteen thousand Americans anywhere did less to accelerate the progress of the world during those four days than did these fifteen thousand who sat in Madison Square Garden listening to the interminable nominating and seconding speeches for second and third-rate Democratic statesmen by their peers.

Two shining exceptions to this generalization were manifest when Newton Baker made a first-class speech for a second-class candidate, and Governor Swanson made a second-rate speech for a first-rate candidate. Baker injected the League of Nations issue into the proceedings of the convention; he made a real impression. It was the first time the convention showed interest for any issue except the Ku Klux Klan issue. But the outburst of applause from the delegates and the galleries for the League of Nations clearly meant something. It was possible to skim off from the mantling scum on the thin pea soup of the convention some significance from the applause that came at various moments during the four dull days. The demonstrations for and against McAdoo and Smith signified the impossibility of each as a nominee

of the convention. The Davis demonstration was sincere and strong but brief. The demonstration for Underwood was noisier than the Davis demonstration, but the very noise of it brought out an antagonism toward Underwood which seemed to make him almost as impossible as either Smith or McAdoo. The Ralston demonstration was a bit mechanical; somewhat the product of a log-rolling desire of the bosses in the convention, Brennan, and the New York and Massachusetts crowds, to please their fellow boss, Tom Taggart of Indiana, Ralston's spokesman. The Cox demonstration was a requiem. Other demonstrations of the minor candidates were pitifully weak. Just after the morning prayer there was a tremendous silence for a moment in which a Michigan reporter remarked "Listen, the Ferris demonstration is under full headway."

In the meantime, while the four days' ballyhooing proceeded before the bellying canvas of unreality in front of the side-show, the real performers were busy behind the scenes in the dressing room of the main tent. At four o'clock Friday afternoon, the fourth day of the convention, the platform was turned over by the subcommittee on resolutions to the general committee on resolutions. At that time the platform was complete in all its unimportant parts. For four days, indeed, for a week, because the leaders of the resolutions committee were fairly well known, the committee had been hearing the pleas of the various advocates of the long list of organized groups, agencies, league, federations, klans and knights, interested in the propaganda of various ideas. The tents that had been struck in Cleveland before the Republican committee were set up here in New York. When these tents were folded in New York they were shipped to Washington where always these propagandists are encamped about Congress. It was they in reality,

not the deadly, droning barkers at the side-show, who had been consuming the four days of a hundred million people.

When the sub-committee turned over to the general committee on the platform the first draft of the platform everything in it was settled but the issue raised by the Ku Klux Klan and the issue raised by the League of Nations. Upon those two issues the powerful agencies of great organized minorities on each side of both issues battled in the sub-committee for days. Prohibition was won by the Anti-Saloon League; the Child Labor League had been defeated, and the League of Women Voters more disastrously if possible than at Cleveland. The American Federation of Labor left the committee room in New York as angry as it was in Cleveland, and the Chamber of Commerce crowd was as angry as the labor crowd. Indeed, in the Democratic platform committee most of the larger units of public opinion, excepting the Anti-Saloon League, fared badly. It was evident by the applause of the convention from the beginning that the chief issue in the campaign as the Democrats would fight it would be the fight upon Republican corruption. When finally at the end of the fifth day of the convention it was evident that the work of the committee on platform was finished, a dramatic tenseness gripped the crowd in the Garden. At four o'clock in the afternoon Chairman Cummings of the committee had appeared before the convention in a most solemn mood. He asked for time, and in asking it explained that issues were arising in the committee which threatened the existence of the Democratic party. He told the delegates that the committeemen had resorted to prayer during their long sessions. The reporters knew that in the Ku Klux fight before the sub-committee a Catholic member of the committee had got down on his

knees and prayed for light, and that Bryan had joined him. The convention was in a solemn mood. Five hours later, after an adjournment, when the delegates and visitors came back, the festal air that made life more or less bearable in the convention vanished entirely. The galleries were packed to hear the debate on the platform; probably they were packed by a New York crowd. Broadway tinseled it, the lower East Side gave it color, the boxes put a golden fringe upon it, Tammany owned it. But it was the solemnest chattel that Tammany ever held. In vain the band played gay tunes. Nothing could restore the gala spirit that had gone from the Garden.

Chairman Cummings began to read the platform. A hush fell upon the crowd and then all over the house. The people in the galleries, looking down into the floor of the convention, saw hundreds of blue-clad policemen quietly moving down the aisles. Trouble was beckoning as the reading of the platform proceeded.

The delegates realized as the reading proceeded that they were hearing a liberal platform, a challenge to the Republican position, but a fumbling liberal platform, in which many liberal declarations were made vaguely, either by a lack of intelligence or a lack of courage. Still, the heart of the platform, despite its stupidity and timidity, was at least intentionally liberal. Certain straddles were inevitable. Upon the railway question the declaration got nowhere.

Upon the control of coal, oil and other ore products which are in effect becoming charged with public use, the recommendations were not satisfactory to even a mild liberal, and certainly the planks upon the control of mineral resources, by implication, were threatening enough to frighten a conservative. Like many other planks of the platform the transportation and the control of national

resources planks struck what Roosevelt called a "mushy blow." Yet the cheers of the convention proved the crowd genuinely liberal in its sympathies.

After Chairman Cummings had finished reading the platform the curtain went up on what might be called the big second act of "The Tragedy of the Spilled Beans." It was a long act. It opened at five or six o'clock in the evening and lasted until half-past two in the morning. Delegates began pouring out of the entrances to Madison Square Garden in the first thin clear crack of dawn declaring that the Democratic party would never elect another President. The delegates who were making this cheerful prediction were of two kinds: first, the members of the Ku Klux Klan and their friends who had been cordially invited by a majority of four votes to stay in the Democratic convention; and second, the anti-Klansmen, the Clan-na-Gael, the Knights of Columbus, and the various Catholic solidarities who felt that they had been ordered out of the party by the scant majority against them. It was a great moment, that climax of the big second act. Two great organs of public opinion, one, the Ku Klux Klan which proudly calls itself "an invisible government," and the Knights of Columbus which modestly makes no such boast of its power, had come to grips deadly and tragic in the convention before fifteen thousand people and millions of auditors all over the land. Of course, not all the debaters, probably few of the debaters, were members of either order, but their proponents and cohorts fought the good fight for them on each side with all the bitterness and intensity of convinced adherents. At the end the narrowness of the majority by which the Ku Klux Klan won its victory angered both sides. Their anger was based upon religious fanaticism, the strongest force, outside of the home and hunger, in the human heart. Not since the Bull Moose delegates in

their last Chicago convention in 1916 walked out of the convention tearing their badges off and trampling them on the floor, and cursing Roosevelt for refusing their nomination, has such wrath been manifest as men saw that night there in the Garden when it was announced that the Ku Klux Klan had controlled the national Democratic convention by four votes. The second act of the Democratic national drama closed with a bang.

It had opened to a gentler tempo. When the debate began upon the League of Nations, the only contested plank in the platform excepting the one upon religious freedom, it was plain that the convention was closely divided. It was also obvious that the audience in the galleries, perhaps taking its cue from the occupants of the boxes, favored the plank which provided for closer association with Europe than we have now and immediate action, rather than for the looser statement of the case which provided for a national referendum. The milder plank was adopted by the majority of the platform committee. The sterner statement of the case was written by the minority report.

Newton D. Baker, secretary of war under Woodrow Wilson, made a most powerful speech for the clearer, shorter, more Wilsonian plank. For half an hour he carried his auditors with him, arguing logically, presenting one phase after another of his proposition, and closing his oration with such a passionate appeal as is witnessed in national conventions but a few times in a generation. The word oration must be used for Baker's speech as being the only word that will describe it. For three days he had been talking in the committee room with but a few hours' sleep, urging his views upon the other members of the committee on resolutions in the sub-committee and in the general committee. Obviously he was weary when he began speaking. Yet he spoke with a meticulous

choice of language, with a clear and invincible logic, never fumbling his points, never diverting his hearers from the conviction that was in his heart. Slowly the great crowd saw the fire of his own deep feeling envelop him. The effect of weariness burned away, falling from him like ashes. A figure which at best is not commanding—a short, rather frail, but always youthful figure—took on some glow and color from his theme. He stood crying out his message with the ardor and eloquence of a Hebrew prophet. He closed in what may be described only as solemn, passionate magnificence. Then the throng in the galleries burst into spontaneous response like a great chorus following its leader.

In the voting that followed Baker lost. He had two major elements to contend with in his struggle for the narrower Wilsonian construction of the Democratic position upon the League of Nations. Traditionally the Irish were against it. That fact robbed him of the large delegations of the East. Strategically the politicians of the Middle West and of the mountain states and the coast were opposed to the Baker position because they felt that the referendum upon the League of Nations which was offered by the majority report gave the Democrats in the campaign an opportunity to beg a question which they did not wish to meet squarely and so court defeat. Then, of course, incidentally, the Ku Klux Klan strength was against Baker's position because of the nationalistic view which the Klan maintains. His opponents needed no fiery aura, no prophetic eloquence, no iron interstices of logic, to grind a majority out of that convention. But when Baker's resolution lost, no cheering on the floor or in the galleries marked his defeat. The indecorous straddle which the Democrats took upon a Wilson issue was too conspicuous for any show of pride in it.

At late twilight the last scene of the second act of the national Democratic tragedy, "The Spilled Beans," began. The clock in the Metropolitan Tower was chiming nine. The seats of many delegates which had been vacant during the earlier parts of the League of Nations debate were filled. Men and women were standing in the galleries. It was a queer crowd for a Westerner to see. The foreign-born were there, in a considerable majority, in the upper galleries. One understood, seeing the gallery crowd, why the signs admonishing against smoking and spitting on the floor were printed in Italian as well as English. Those bilingual signs told a real story. As the debate began upon the issue of religious liberty, interest heightened. Pulses quickened. The plot began to move. The great desire in the hearts of the delegates which they had held for five days without abating was coming to a climax in a conflict which both sides welcomed. Wicked lusts of bigotry and hate rose in the heart of the multitude. It was not a beautiful spectacle, but one charged tremendously with the stuff with which drama is made. A blue wave of policemen appeared in the back of the hall and broke into thin blue tongues that flowed into every aisle.

The great crowd was deadly quiet when the debate began. The question occurred upon the wisdom of omitting the name of the Ku Klux Klan in denouncing it. The Klan evidently was willing to stand anonymous insult, but not advertised rebuke. The majority report of the committee on resolutions was written by those who stood for the anonymous insult. Senator Owen opened the debate for the majority report. His plea was a veiled and rather specious defense of the Klan, a lawyer's remarks for his client. Two or three minor speakers followed. A Pennsylvania woman appealed with tragic eloquence for the plank which named the Klan, denounc-

ing the Klan as a menace to religious freedom. A young Georgian delegate appeared, talking against the Klan. The Georgia delegation was militantly for McAdoo and in the preliminary proceedings of the convention McAdoo was supposed to have the support of the Klan. The young Georgian's remarks in the Southern dialect were fiery enough, but were of consequence chiefly because he came from Georgia, where the Klan had won. The surprise of his presence on the platform denouncing the Klan challenged the convention. And after his fervid but not very lucid remarks had closed, his audacity in rising from a Klan delegation to denounce the Klan caught the heart of the crowd. It burst into loud, raucous, almost hysterical shouts. Turmoil jumped from Pandora's box. The delegates from other states came running to the Georgia delegation where the young man stood alone while his own delegation, seated sullenly, was listening to the clamor of the crowd. A march started to Georgia. Delegates bearing their standards came flocking to the Georgia delegation and from all over the hall, as the applause became more and more deafening, men and women hurried to shake hands with the young man. A host of waving banners surrounded Georgia's banner which never flickered. The Georgia delegation still sat grim and full of wrath as state after state, section after section, brought their flocking banners to do honor to the young rebel in the midst of the Georgia Klanfold.

Then came the moment of comic relief. The bandmaster, who for five days had been playing tunes to fit each passing incident of the convention, suddenly remembered that there was a tune about Georgia. So the band struck up "While We Were Marching Through Georgia" the one song in all the category of human music which infuriates the South. For the song celebrates the time

when Sherman marched across the South "from Atlanta to the sea," trailing a charred mark of ruin behind him, and humiliating the South as no other act of war or peace has ever humiliated a people on this continent. Cries of rage, shouts of fury, yaups of sardonic laughter, hisses, boos, and as fine a line of mob tumult as ever was staged in a movie spread over the great checkered bottom of that big oval bowl of thin, sticky, stinky pea soup. But still the anti-Klan delegates kept coming. Men carrying standards marched around the hall, and the band, innocent of its crime, kept playing that half-forgotten hymn of ancient hate. Those who were detached enough from the bitterness of the Civil War even to smile rocked with laughter.

It was notable in the parade of the states marching toward Georgia that the banners in the parade were from states that formed a rather solid block, chiefly from the Atlantic seaboard. Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland were the leaders in the procession. Wisconsin joined; Ohio and Illinois finally came. They are industrial states like the Atlantic seaboard states where live great minorities of the foreign-born. To them the Klan is a sinister danger and a vicious offense. But the delegates from the Middle West and the South and the states of the Far West took no part in the impromptu pageant to do tribute to the young Georgian.

From this spectacle one could forecast the result of the contest. The vote came later much as the display for the young man from Georgia had forecast it. Industrial America was lined up against rural America.

Bainbridge Colby, who, by the way, is not a Catholic, was the big gun of the anti-Klan forces. He spoke well; vigorously, earnestly, from an understanding heart. But the emotions of the crowd had reached their climax in

the display for the Georgian and Colby's speech could not produce a second outburst. It was known that Bryan would close the debate, and Bryan's is a name to conjure with in any Democratic convention. For nearly thirty years he has been a Democratic convention hero. Many times upon his eloquence in other conventions some great pivot of the convention story has turned. Often in other years he has thrown his weight upon the side which he regarded as righteous, and many times he has converted a minority into a majority. Sunday morning again he rose to assume his heroic rôle. The arc lights sputtered in the dome of the ceiling; the galleries at first did not hiss, but they made some audible mob grunt of disapproval which he understood. His friends began to rage. Nothing less than rage could reach the human consciousness after four hours of intense wrangling and disorder. The reporters knew that a call had been made for the police reserves, and over a thousand blue-coated men were hurrying from all over the city to the great hall as Bryan began to talk. He stepped upon the platform, a fine, upstanding man, but middle-aged; no longer the boy orator, yet aflame with the ardor of his quenchless youth—bald, chiseled down by time and care, with heavy, though not gaunt, features. His agile movements, his almost buoyant step, his clear, soft, resonant voice filling the entire hall with its electric power, cast him perfectly as the central figure of the second act.

He had spoken but a moment when the half-audible hostility of the galleries that greeted him became raucous disapproval. His reaction was unfortunate. Bitterly he met hostility with wrath. Before he had spoken five minutes he had offended those who were neutral and had begun to alienate many who agreed with him. The galleries hurled boos and hisses to smash his climax. He had scant applause. Those whose cause he advocated

seemed to be voiceless. The urban crowd was against Bryan, and the rural delegates seemed powerless to come to his defense although they were a majority in the convention. Perhaps realizing the situation, he changed his tactics. He began a rather consciously studied religious appeal. In what he said was much talk of God and Jesus who cannot be booed, and considerable incantation for divine guidance. The audience seemed to feel almost a sacrilegious touch in his almost constant references to what they deemed things too sacred for political combat. Perhaps their feeling of the ineptness of Bryan's method accounted for the silence that fell during the last ten minutes of his speech. For a moment near the close he made the personal appeal of his speech. He talked at some length of the debt he owed to the Democratic party, likened it to a sheltering tree which he apostrophized: "In youth it sheltered me and I'll protect it now," and aroused a grateful fire of applause. When he closed there was no great demonstration. Perhaps those whom he had offended by invoking the Deity too much did not care to hiss Bryan's God, and those whose cause he would espouse felt abashed and did not cheer. The burden of his talk was this: that the members of the Ku Klux Klan are poor, misguided creatures, but none the less fellow followers of the Christian faith who should be treated as honest men and taught their error. Also they should not be rebuked by the Democratic convention, because the Ku Klux Klan has more than a million votes! His speech was an apology for expediency in the name of party solidarity; a rather damp theme with which to fire one's blood. Doubtless Bryan by his speech converted more than the necessary votes to change the Klan defeat to a Klan victory. None the less he failed in his effort and went off the stage much less the hero than he came on. And he left the crowd more violent,

more ferocious, than he found it. He might have abetted its malignity and won his point by a gentler persuasion than he used, but though he won, he lost in winning. For two hours after Bryan closed, smaller men lashed each side to vehemence. No better proof can be submitted that New York is a dry town than the fact that for two hours after midnight, with the nerves and hearts of fifteen thousand men and women lashed to fury, not a drunken brawl occurred, not one incendiary call or insult came from a drunken throat. Complicated with liquor as it flowed in American politics twenty years ago, that night of the Klan debate would have been memorable for its bloodshed rather than for its peaceful outcome. When the vote was announced with a bare victory for the Klan the hate on each side was clamorous, the dissension vocal. Neither side had won a victory that could make it magnanimous. Both felt the appetite of their unsatisfied desire for vengeance still gnawing. And as the two villains of the cast, Klan and anti-Klan, made exit into the night, the curtain on the big second act went down.

America saw what could happen in our politics when two of those innocent-looking agencies created to propagate an idea came to clash in a great hour on a momentous occasion. Given ideas with fire in them, these organs of our extra-constitutional government may start conflagrations which well might spread and destroy the peace of a people. This government outside of government which we are building up in America in order that men of like minds may reach one another and form militant minorities may look harmless, but they are charged with dynamite. They are here, these new organs of government; they cannot be ignored nor destroyed, but they must be publicly controlled for the common good.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HEROES SPAR FOR POSITION

At the end of its sixth day's session, after four days of static oratory, one night of dynamic debate, and one day of cautious balloting, a few things were definitely evident about the Democratic national convention. The first of these was that the convention was not so liberal as it seemed, its platform sounded better than it was. Labor, having taken forty-eight hours to think the platform over, was as deeply dissatisfied with the Democratic platform as it was with the Republican platform. Practically nothing that the American Federation of Labor asked of the Democratic platform committee was granted. The Democrats declared that labor is not a commodity and let it go at that. The lobby for the League of Women Voters, which was rather courteously snubbed in Cleveland by the refusal of the platform committee to endorse the Child Labor constitutional amendment, pending, was treated with the same satirical courtesy by the Democrats. There was, however, this difference between the attitude of the women in New York and their attitude at Cleveland: at Cleveland, after they had been snubbed, they felt that the mistakes made by the Republicans would be gladly avoided by the Democrats, who would give to the women what they desired, which was chiefly an endorsement of the Child Labor amendment. When the League lobby got to New York the chivalrous Southern gentlemen from those states exploiting child labor stood smilingly on the women's corns,

lifting their hats gallantly and explaining the while that Democratic votes helped to submit the Child Labor amendment to the people; which the Southern gentlemen explained was all the women might reasonably expect. A fine display of fancy language might have been seen by any casual visitor to the New York headquarters of the various women's organizations.

The farmers were equally sore. They left Cleveland empty-handed and they got little more than three cheers out of the Democratic platform. The wets and the drys both felt unhappy at the Democratic declaration on prohibition, though the wets, as a matter of fact, were angrier than the drys. They really hoped that some sort of declaration would be incorporated in the Democratic platform to bind the party to light wines and beer. The platform is bone dry. The Anti-Saloon League, which had been able to influence the administrative branch of the government to keep the town fairly dry during the Democratic convention, was able to control that convention itself. This is a phase in the prohibitory history of the country which is a replica of the life history of prohibition in the various states. When a state adopts bone-dry prohibition, the wets rush from one party state convention to the other hoping for an endorsement, and never getting it. The rural districts dry up and then the great cities, the latter very slowly and grudgingly, all the while vociferously denying that they ever will dry up, but they do. The work of the Anti-Saloon League in the nation is thus typified by its earlier work in the states.

To return to the Democratic platform, the reader must realize, after reading the platform, that there is little difference between the two parties upon the fundamental issues of the campaign.

The League of Nations, curiously enough, has been

taken out of politics by the refusal of the Democrats to stand by the Baker amendment. The Republicans in their platform vehemently cried out against the League and then pledged the party to support further coöperation with the League and to join a World Court, set up and fostered by the League. The Democrats in their platform are equally contradictory. They declare for the League in stentorian tones, but refuse to pledge their party to support it until it has been endorsed by a national referendum, which is constitutionally impossible. Upon the World Court, the two party pledges are exactly alike.

As the sixth day of the convention drew to its close it developed its second certainty: McAdoo and Smith getting ready for the typical death struggle which ensues between leading candidates in Democratic conventions became afraid of each other. The convention had been thoroughly polled; each crowd knew definitely its own strength, and more definitely, each crowd knew the other crowd's strength. So the newspapers were able to say during the first day's balloting that McAdoo had in and of his own right about 530 delegates and Smith about 400. Neither candidate had polled anything like that number of votes that first day, but each knew his strength and his opponent's limitations. Neither could be nominated without some help from the other, and after the Klan fight in the convention Sunday morning, wherein the issues that were dividing Smith and McAdoo were clearly defined, it was obvious that Smith's forces never would come to McAdoo and that McAdoo's strength never would go to Smith. The deadlock was foreshadowed during the first day's balloting.

Another certainty which that first day's balloting developed is that the League of Nations is stronger by reason of the Democratic foozle than it would have been

if the Baker amendment had carried. The League of Nations issue to-day is out of party politics. It has taken a position now like that occupied ten years ago by prohibition and woman suffrage. Neither party is committed to it, and neither party, as a party, can seriously declaim against it. Those free and pioneering spirits who desire to crusade for a cause now may meet in non-partisan conclave, influence public sentiment outside of parties, capture senators and congressmen as they can, appeal to the churches, as the prohibitionists and suffragists appealed, rally the moral sentiment of the nation and win their cause upon its merits without being beholden to any party. Nothing better could have happened to the League of Nations as an issue between the American people than the defeat of the Baker amendment, tragic though that defeat was to the memory of Woodrow Wilson in the party which he led and honored. One hears sentiments like this from supporters of the League in the convention who are satisfied with their defeat. The Klan fight left an exactly reverse situation. The narrow victory left both sides with a sense of defeat.

CHAPTER XV

THE HEROES CLINCH IN DEADLOCK

In the seventh day's session of the Democratic national convention came the deadlock always to be expected in the life history of these gatherings. The two leading candidates, Smith and McAdoo, had been grinding each other's vitals in a death grip. Four years ago, in San Francisco, the same thing happened between McAdoo and Mitchell Palmer. Eight years ago, in St. Louis, Wilson was the only candidate for renomination. But twelve years ago Speaker Champ Clark was at grips with Underwood and Harmon, while Wilson was one of the minor candidates.

The two-thirds rule makes it almost impossible for any one to win in a Democratic national convention who is not virtually the unanimous choice of his party. When two leaders get into opposition in a Democratic convention, each with a third, the second-choice man must win. It is written inexorably in the stars. The philosophy upon which the two-thirds rule stands in the Democratic conventions has its roots in the fact that the Democratic party is a national party—the only national party in the country. The Republicans poll no votes in the South, but the Democrats have strength in the eastern Atlantic seaboard, in the South, and in the West. The Republican party is essentially the party of the ruling classes. A Republican convention always is made up of leading and highly respectable citizens, always of one kind and one mind, and chiefly of one class, all over the East and the

West, with a few vassals and hangers-on, more or less déclassé at the very best, coming out of the South. Of its own motion the Republican party has clipped the wings of these Southern outcasts, so that they are holding less and less power in the Republican conventions every quadrennium.

But in a Democratic convention the three estates, each from a different section of the country, East, South and West, make three separate kinds of people in the convention. From the South come the ruling classes, who correspond to the Republicans. From the West comes a nondescript group, agricultural, small-town, or big-town, Irish, mine owners, ranchmen—a bold, gay crowd, unterrified and a bit irresponsible—not at all like the proud and dignified Southerners and very little like the delegates from the East and North. These seaboard states send their governing, but not their ruling classes—their politicians, not their bankers and trust magnates; their city bosses, not their industrial captains. These seaboard delegates are under Irish domination and generally contain Irish majorities. They also are unterrified and free. Incidentally they are clannish. And now abide in every Democratic convention these three estates—the rulers from the South, the governors from the northeastern seaboard, and the unclassified, unwashed and untamed Westerners.

It is almost impossible to combine either two of these thirds into a two-thirds majority. But it would be easily possible for either third, having a strong candidate, to make terms with minorities of either or in both of the other thirds, and nominate, under a mere majority rule, a purely sectional candidate who would be unsatisfactory to two-thirds of the convention and to a vast majority of the Democrats of the country.

The convention of 1924 exhibited the inevitable spec-

tacle that must come in certain Democratic conventions: two sectional leaders, McAdoo and Smith, the one from the West and the other from the East, grinding each other to death in a deadlock so that some second-choice candidate might unite all the elements of the party in a nomination. It was absolutely impossible for a purely sectional candidate like Smith, who represented views so highly antagonistic to the West and South, to be nominated, and it was equally impossible, and had been from the beginning, for a man like McAdoo, who represented views so thoroughly opposed to the convictions of the East, to win. Even if he won, he would be like Bryan, who three times in conventions united the West and South against the East and secured the nomination, but failed in the election because he was the sectional candidate of the national party. Smith or McAdoo would meet Bryan's fate.

And this death struggle in Madison Square Garden, so many times repeated in Democratic national conventions, so typically a part of the life history of the Democratic organism, had to go ahead with its dull, monotonous, deadly process until the two sectional candidates were eliminated by some third candidate upon whom all three sections agreed.

Because the West and South are dry and Protestant, the winning candidate would be neither wet nor Catholic. It is hard for Democratic New York and New England to realize this; to realize that as America is now constituted no man who does not believe in the prohibitory law and no man who is not a Protestant of more or less strongly marked New England ancestry can be nominated and elected by the Democratic party.

Twelve years ago Woodrow Wilson, who was an Irish Presbyterian with a Scotch mother, and had the spiritual inheritance of the Puritans, if not their actual blood, took

the nomination from Underwood and Clark. So it had to be in this convention. And that slow, grinding struggle in Madison Square Garden was the play of human forces working out this great, inevitable drama that comes with the clash of the three great interests in the Democratic party.

The next day, the eighth day of the long convention, was an eventless day, but it developed certain significant tendencies, uncovered potential bitternesses in the Democratic party which indicated a deep cleavage in the organization.

It was Bryan speaking. He was singing the praises of Chairman Walsh.

"This man," quoth Bryan, "raised the lid of official corruption in Washington and showed us——"

"McAdoo," yelled a voice from the galleries. It was fair heckling. If the crowd in the galleries had stopped at that or continued with that kind, Bryan's speech for McAdoo might have been merely a passing episode in a dull afternoon. But the crowd in the galleries, clearly a Smith crowd, obviously filled with cheap spoil-sports, began to boo.

For half an hour turmoil checked the proceedings of the convention while the galleries raged raucously at a futile old gentleman, whose bald head, projecting above his lambrequin of brown hair that descended almost to the collar of his coat, gave the odd effect of a white-corked brown bottle, a bottle that kept waving gently in the breezes of emotion that swept the hall. He tried to speak. He waved his hands and shook his head and in the eddies of silence that flurried through the turmoil one could hear his voice, choked with impotent wrath, trying vainly to catch the attention of the crowd. The boos, hisses, catcalls, yells and raging clamor that washed over him were the effluvia of the mob.

The New York galleries, either organized or under orders, or with native callousness, held up the convention while the mob raged at Bryan because it feared him. Heaven knows he was nothing to fear. It was evident from the first moment he got on his feet that he was out of step with the crowd, even his delegates. But as a figure against which a New York mob charged he finally began to gather sympathy. He became in spite of his own ineptness a power in the convention, against the mob which bedeviled him.

More than that—as the millions listened in through the radio to that mob baiting Bryan, the cause for which Bryan stood gained strength from the country. And that did not mean McAdoo.

It is odd, indeed, to one who lives well outside of New York but is familiar with its environs, it is amazing, to find how little New York understands the psychology of America. New York had a genuine and beautiful affection for Smith. The affection was in the main regional. It extended from Massachusetts south to the Mason and Dixon line and west almost as far as Buffalo. That this affection should have expressed itself so badly, so unerringly to the hurt of its own object is astounding. One would think that the instincts of love would have protected Al Smith from the gorgeous blunders of his friends. But every day, after his name first was spoken in the Democratic convention, Smith lost popularity with the country. The managers of the Smith sentiment killed Al Smith

It was obvious for forty-eight hours after the Klan fight that the pressure of public opinion in the country had been clamping down on the Smith candidacy, cutting off its reserves. Monday, if Smith had desired to make a rush for the nomination, he could have commanded a majority of the delegations from Massachu-

setts, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Illinois, in addition to his 300 faithful cohorts, and might have run his vote up to 400 or so. But on the seventh day of the convention the Marylanders were hesitating. They realized that Smith had no chance. Delaware decided to quit Smith. Pennsylvania wanted to go to John W. Davis instead of Smith. Only Brennan of Illinois and some Cincinnati and Cleveland wets remained faithful to the Smith boom.

This political provender which Smith had in storage at the opening of the convention, ready to use when he started on the big rush to the front, soured on him. The Smith boom was gone. Of course, he never could have been nominated, but he might have made a fine sortie, a brave stand, assembling around him gallantly all the forces of the civilization wherein he is a hero. So he might have been martyred and, gaining virtue by his martyrdom, might have been a great power in this region for the rest of his life, at the end of a gallant dash, though deadly, carrying the banner of this gay and lovely civilization of the Atlantic seaboard states.

But for three days Smith sat with cold feet, afraid to go, and then came an hour when Smith could not go. He had a scant and scared 369 votes, and because his followers in the convention booed and howled and hooted at the representative of a civilization which they could not understand, their armored knight was a "busted commodity," a rather rusty figure with hardly a veto power upon the work of the convention, which he might have directed, even if he could not bring it to his banner.

Of course Bryan and his crowd felt this gallery demonstration against McAdoo was Wall Street, which is absurd. The powers that direct Wall Street are not gangrened with the gawky provincialism that affects New York. Wall Street would have handled Smith much

better than Tammany handled him. For Wall Street would have checked the gallery mob. Wall Street knows the psychology of the mother-home-and-heaven crowd. Tammany knows nothing of the kind. As a matter of fact, Wall Street had precious little to do with this convention.

The real second-choice candidates of the opposing groups were Davis for the East and Ralston for the West and South. It was obvious to outsiders that the quicker Davis and Ralston grappled and wrestled for a fall, the better. But blind leaders held back the decisive combat, while the vain fake struggle between Smith and McAdoo went on.

The sun went down on the eighth day of the convention climaxing rather weakly a bad third act of the great tragedy of "The Spilled Beans." It was clear that both civilizations that met here in this convention, the civilization of the West and South and the civilization of the Eastern seaboard, learned nothing of each other. Each culture put its worst foot foremost. Bryan and Tammany made faces at each other and the whole experiment of bringing the country to New York for the mutual education of both rather sadly failed.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DEADLOCK OF GREAT FORCES

After the first few days of the balloting the convention became a game of checkers on the board. McAdoo was forced out of the king row and went wandering about for four days, while Smith did not dare to venture out. Each was afraid of the other.

It is hard to imagine that those long days were significant, those days of grinding, dull, monotonous roll-call, changing but a few votes from hour to hour, with little more significance in the day's changes than in the hours; those days when ten or fifteen thousand people sat around the checkerboard where a thousand men and women were moving in what seemed to be a foolish game. Yet all of this stupid byplay concerned great forces in American history. On the surface it looked no more important than a baseball game at the end of the World Series. There was a certain sporting element in it, a certain chance and gamble, and what seemed like a certain element of luck throughout the whole of the day's grind. State delegations representing a million or more people jumped blithely from candidate to candidate and back again, with the agility of polo ponies at a tournament.

Yet in this game which finally dragged itself through sixteen days, certain great philosophies of life were in combat, certain fundamental policies of American government were being tested. For nine days the combat was between the extremes of negation and affirmation more or less personified by Smith and McAdoo. Smith

by reason of his environment, and no matter what he personally declared, represented a broad, tolerant, expedient interpretation of the 18th Amendment which at base is the outer expression of the philosophy of his church, a philosophy which does not regard social efficiency as highly as it regards personal piety. McAdoo on the other hand stood in the convention for undefiled Puritanism, which is not at base related to piety at all, but which is a philosophy of social efficiency. Your Puritan way back in his subconscious devises what he thinks is the best thing for the social order, for the state, for man as an institutionalized animal. Your Puritan has the Yankee nose for the main chance, and when he gets the main chance well located, he makes it a moral issue. When he sees what is best for the state, he turns up with a revelation from God, indicating that it is a holy cause. Alcohol in a highly complicated civilization, makes for waste. It is bad for the social order; causes loss of life, loss of industrial hours, and it depletes savings. So all the Methodists and Baptists and Presbyterians begin singing hymns about the wickedness of the saloon, and the immorality of the liquor traffic. The Puritan has his eye on the main chance for his social order, and so calls on his Puritan God to help him put the main chance into his political institutions. Little he cares whether he goes to Heaven or Hell, little he cares for personal liberty, little he cares for anything in the wide and beautiful world that stands between him and the main chance. So here came the Puritan to this Democratic convention, roaring up from the West and South with about six hundred delegates.

Here they met four hundred other delegates strongly interested in beautiful living and personal salvation who had a nicely cultivated lust for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. So we had the candidates representing

the extremes of these philosophies, McAdoo and Smith; we had the great checkerboard smeared over with the pink and sweaty faces of a thousand anxious Americans, in the greatest indoor game on earth.

The last session of the ninth day gave indications that a new phase of the game was coming. The delegates realized surely then what Smith and McAdoo began to realize, that America would stand for neither of the extremes. If either of the candidates representing wet and Catholic or dry and Ku Klux had been named the nation would have rejected him. So these issues, these deep, fundamental issues, had to be subordinated to other and more expedient and apparent issues. That meant that a new checker game had to be put on the board. Ralston, who had certain strong political resemblances to McAdoo, and might have inherited much of McAdoo's strength, seemed once to be about to swing into a leading place. But he withdrew his name. Some one like Davis or Franklin Roosevelt or Newton Baker, who did not state the fundamental philosophy of a lighter life in its extremist terms, but still satisfied somewhat the yearnings of those who revolt at Puritanism, was inevitably to be the choice of the convention.

In its second phase, other issues counted in naming candidates, and the animosities of the first phase of the convention had to drop into their proper place in the scheme of things before the convention could reach a decision. It was easy to prophesy these things because the convention was following a typical life history of the Democratic party.

But also in this new phase the convention was running true to form. The organized minorities, interested in massing and directing public opinion, were as active in the convention as the representatives of the candidates. Klan attorneys, League representatives, wet and

dry, Federation magnates, leaders or knights of various causes, all the nabobs of the horde of invisible governments that rule America were in evidence on the floor of the convention at every crisis in the balloting. They came out of the committee rooms when committee work was done and went to the state delegations and began working from within. One saw during these two conventions the wheels of government going around and the wheels within the wheels. It was a cheerful and inspiring spectacle. The citizens really were running their own government. Even if it was a clash of tremendous forces, fundamental philosophies, ordinary men and women were working out the tangled problem according to their lights, honestly, bravely, and in the end well.

The Democratic national convention celebrated the Fourth of July patriotically for five foolish ballots. The machinery of the convention began slowly to adjust itself to a new phase of its procedure, what might be called its second phase. Ralston withdrew. Cox withdrew. McAdoo held his show window full of dressy delegates, somewhere near 500. It was evident, however, that these delegates were as much anti-Smith as they were pro-McAdoo. Smith came to a high tide somewhat under 340 votes. A rumor passed through the press gallery that Smith had some sort of a compromise offer to make.

The Massachusetts delegation suddenly appeared with a resolution that confused the delegates and the galleries. It was innocent enough, and, upon the whole, wise; it provided for clearing the galleries at the night session, allowing the reporters to remain and print the news, but inviting all the candidates for President to speak before the convention, personally or by their accredited representative. It was a fair get-together proposal if ever there was one.

Coming from Massachusetts, it confused the delegates

from the West and South. They thought it meant an attempt on the part of Smith to stampede the convention. The Texas war-horses of the Klan reared back, scraping their traces on the wheels, with a raucous snarl. They could not see that the move to clear the galleries was an endeavor on the part of the Eastern Democrats to remove from the deliberations of the convention the greenhorns from the high canyons of steel and cement, the hill-billies of the lower East Side, and the razorbacks of Tammany, who had been injecting an ignorant and provincial element of discord into the proceedings of the convention.

The delegations from Georgia, Missouri, Kansas and the strong Klan states pulled the pillow slips over their eyes and, blinding their minds to reason, began parading spiritually in their nighties.

A resolution under which Governor Smith and the Eastern Democrats might have appealed to the convention for harmony, making a definite proposal to withdraw, if McAdoo would withdraw, was lost.

This resolution was followed immediately by the appearance of Franklin Roosevelt, of New York, at the speakers' stand with a resolution asking that Smith be permitted to address the convention. That was too much. The miserable Ku Klux parade that had exorcised all the devils of perdition Sunday morning started again. Back snapped the convention five days. Out came the Clan-na-Gael to meet the Ku Klux Klan, and for an hour there was plenty of hot pitch to pay the devil's bill.

There it was, without leadership, without an issue save hatred, suspicion and bigotry—the convention of a great party, split to the core. The plate was breaking on the old crack. During Sunday morning the women of the West and South had been meeting around the McAdoo headquarters and elsewhere, praying for light. Which

practically meant that they were praying against the Pope, who to all their intents and purposes was anchored off Sandy Hook. But the women of the West and South were no further from the light than their spiritual prototypes in New York, who went about moaning and beating their breasts that Charlie Murphy was gone and could not lead them into the light. The whole occasion, the accursed afternoon of the tenth day, was a procession of stupidity, grotesque, unbelievably malevolent, with that note of tragic comedy which one hears when porcine squeals and asinine brays interrupt the sound of rousing trumpets.

"The second Republican convention," one heard the delegates say as they left the hall.

"LaFollette for me," was the undertone of the slogan one heard all over the house.

It was hard to say what it all meant. It certainly was a new phase of the convention.

Possibly the platitudes of the Republican convention and the impotent yearnings for liberalism, complicated with chattering fear of the simple statement of the liberal creed which characterized the platform of the Democratic party, indicate an absence of any fundamental reason for the existence of either party, except that our government requires the party system in order to function.

The forces of the various invisible governments—the Leagues, Klans, Federations and the like—were showing in those days of the deadlock how much more vital they are in their harmony than the parties with their discord.

Certainly the absence of important economic and social issues, clearly and unequivocally stated, and logically presented, as these issues are presented in other agencies of government, indicates a moral bankruptcy in both parties. Perhaps out of the bankruptcy will come a job for

the garbage man. November will tell. No one knows, but the proceedings of Friday, the tenth day of the session of the Democratic national convention, seemed to indicate a big day's work ahead for the garbage man.

Was it inspiration or accident that made the bandmaster play as the last tune before the last ballot was announced on the dreary tenth day, "What Shall I Do?"

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEADLOCK BEGINS TO WEAKEN

When it became evident that the convention was hopelessly deadlocked during the beginning of the second week a steering committee was appointed to consider the ways and means for breaking the deadlock.

Off the stage one heard through doors opening into the gilded and gaudy hotel rooms where sat the super-steering committee of the Democratic party, the muffled blows of their mauls upon the ice jam which was choking the progress of the convention.

This super-committee contained fewer than a score of men. In their hands was more power than had rested in the hands of a similar group for years. They were representatives of various candidates before the Democratic convention who probably would make as wise a group of Democrats as could be assembled to-day. For there were at this convention no elder statesmen, no great leaders of the Democracy. In other times there were Tilden, Thurman, Bayard, Gorman and Hill. In more recent times came Cleveland and Whitney and Vilas and the group that Cleveland raised to power in the eighties and nineties.

Since those days only Bryan survived as a leader and he was inadequate. He had power, great power. The South of the newer day looked to him because it felt that Underwood, Glass, Davis and their other Southern leaders were more in sympathy with the needs of an industrial civilization than they were with the benefits

required to improve a rural population. Despite its large industrial development, the South, like the West, is agricultural. Cotton may not be king in the South to-day, but it is still chairman of the executive committee. So the rural South has developed no leaders because the Democracy in the West, save in a few states and at odd times, is a minority party. The urban civilization of the East and New England has developed bosses, but the bosses were not wise enough to prevent the ice jam that threatened to destroy the party. Hence this steering committee, appointed more or less by lot.

As it sat trying to blow out a channel through which the party might proceed to a nomination, it was liable to make mistakes; but not the tremendous mistakes that had come into this situation accumulated from the last four years of Democratic incompetency. The three mistakes that deadlocked this convention arose from money, the mob, and McAdoo. The Democratic party was a quarter of a million dollars in debt. It came to New York with the convention because New York had the money to pay the debt.

But New York also contributed the mob. It was the mob that injected the religious issue into the convention. If the convention had met in Cincinnati, St. Louis, St. Paul or Denver the mob would not have dared to demand the fight on the Ku Klux Klan. The fight on the Klan froze into a solid mass the friends of McAdoo, and produced the ice jam. It also solidified the anti-McAdoo forces around Smith, did this mob from the great city. And we had a spectacle for ten days of the two fundamental philosophies of America, Puritanism and Catholicism, grinding upon one another, producing heat, but not light; forces which in the natural process of civilization ameliorate and gradually mix and in the end make something new and fine and beautiful of our nation. It will

be years before these forces will be sufficiently uncongealed to combine into a useful amalgamate.

While the committee is hammering upon the ice jam let us consider for a moment some of the outward and physical symbols under which the jam has piled up.

Behold exhibit A, which we will call, by way of mixing a metaphor, the mother of the deadlock. She sat for days in the box above section C of the press box, waving a brown and white flag with a California bear on it and an inscription, "The California Republic." A motherly woman in her late fifties was this dear, gentle woman, obviously Mid-Western, either by birth or extraction, with gray patches and streaks in her thin hair, softly knotted at the back of her head. Wifehood, motherhood, maturity and the vanishing charms that once gave whatever lure she had to her face have left a plain and kindly countenance scarcely frostbitten, still gentle and sweet. She has the trade-mark of the W. C. T. U. all over her. Beside her, at various times, other women sat with similar flags.

It was her duty to keep the flags waving whenever McAdoo's name was mentioned in a ballot. Serenely, gently, with no emotion, she kept her flag waving like the visible expression of the audible purring of a great, subconscious, comfortable, amiable goddess of some ancient cult, smiling through her aura.

All day she sat there, unruffled, without special enthusiasm, while a great faith flowed through her in the goodness of McAdoo and the inflexible purpose of God to nominate him. When the band played she waved the flag in chaste accompaniment to the jazzy tunes. She was the Sunday school superintendent, beating time to the gospel hymns.

She and her kind sitting in the convention, either personally or as the mothers of the women who sit there,

reaching out and enveloping all the women delegates, composed perhaps a fifth of the convention. To them the cause of McAdoo represented all that the urbanites jeer at when they hoot at mother-home-and-heaven. The men might have compromised or combined, and so eliminated McAdoo long before, but this gentle, plain woman knew nothing of compromises and combinations. She knew only that she was the Lord's anointed in a holy cause, and so she sat and waved her banner, nudged the napping lady next to her to see that the other flags were waving, and so waited for her eyes to see the glory of the coming of the Lord.

In the end, when the committee working on the ice jam got everything else out of the way, it had to reckon with this shy, modest, but ruthless mother of the deadlock and her kind.

We have considered money and the mob; now let us consider McAdoo.

All day Monday, the eleventh day, the convention went through the second phase of its life. The death grapple between Smith and McAdoo, which characterized the first phase, ceased early in the second phase, four days before. Smith and McAdoo as potential candidates passed out during the middle of the second week of the convention. They remained as potential victors, either of whom, or both, might name a winner.

It was obvious after Friday that McAdoo did not care to name a winner, and that, despite the fact that his friends had no reasonable hope for his success, he was holding on grimly, a dead hand upon the convention, which paralyzed its motion.

When the history of this convention is written, it will be written chiefly about McAdoo. No other man in the politics of the last ten years has put such splendid managerial brains into convention strategy as McAdoo put

into this convention in the first two weeks. Beside him the senators in the Democratic party were a bunch of butter-fingered outfielders from the bushes, trying to play in the big-league game. Their game was to beat Smith because he could not win at the polls and would carry them down to defeat. Also, they wished to defeat McAdoo for something of the same reason, but chiefly because they feared his nomination, distrusted him and could not do teamwork with him. So they started out early in the convention to eliminate him.

He had 530 votes and he handled them with Napoleonic daring and insight into the heart of the game. He used effectively every strategy known to politics. Never did he waver in his faith in himself, never did he permit the psychology of defeat to touch his followers. When his enemies made a noise in the newspapers, he made a move on the checkerboard to confuse them. He called his reserves, deployed his forces, went up and down the balloting ladder with ease, whenever going up or down helped his case. His managers were mere window dressing. McAdoo himself had the goods and delivered it.

Under the tremendous handicap of the Doheny revelations, under the pressure of an organized campaign against him, in the face of a hostile and implacable press, in a community that hissed and booed him from its galleries, he fought a fight which must have called for respect from his adversaries when the pain of the blows he dealt them had gone. Even at the beginning of the last phase of the convention, a defeated man, he held the deadlock by the sheer force of his ruthless will.

When McAdoo gave the signal, or when his will broke, the deadlock crashed in a few ballots. It was after the eightieth ballot when the band, in one of those moments of devilish prescience which have characterized the band

leader, played "Once in a Blue Moon," to signalize the fact that no major political convention on this continent has ever cast eighty ballots for anything. Soon afterward the ominous first signs of the cracking of the deadlock were manifest. Time and again, during the morning, the leaders puffed and huffed and wielded their sledge hammers impotently with various resolutions which would break the deadlock, and the resolutions were defeated. Obviously every delegate in the convention wanted to break the deadlock, yet when a resolution was put up which surely would break it, the delegates, en masse, said no.

It was because each delegate had to decide with his own wisdom how to vote. He had no leaders to follow, so he voted for the status quo, during four long hours, whenever a resolution came up that would break the deadlock.

The convention sat dazed, glass-eyed, spellbound, in front of the problem its own madness had made. The galleries also were tamed. All day long they sat without a boo or a hiss, looking like a lot of two-legged cattle at the fascinating spectacle of the hypnotized delegates on the floor. Finally a Kentucky McAdoo man put enough passion into his voice to wake up the galleries, and they gave him a reminiscent boo! But they seemed ashamed of themselves. They did not cheep again.

When the first sign of the cracking deadlock came, it displayed itself in a motion to abrogate the instructions put upon the delegates by their home states. It was a small bite into the big ice jam, but it came in the right place. It made small difference in the next ballot or two but much difference in the attitude of the delegates. Smith was paralyzed at 368 votes. He never was able to reach the 400 delegates that he honestly had. And McAdoo had crumbled from 530, his high tide, to 418.

Kansas, which had been for McAdoo since the beginning, evidently was restless.

The senatorial cabal was making headway in the South that did not show itself in the balloting, so in mid-afternoon the delegates were ready for the second nibble into the ice jam. They took it with a motion to adjourn, passed almost unanimously.

It was an adjournment of anticipation rather than of weariness. The moment seemed big with coming events. The last phase of the convention was beginning.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INEVITABLE COMPROMISE

It was the last day. The great hall was packed. The last phase of the convention had come. It was not a bossed convention even at the last. It was curious to watch the crowd of a thousand delegates making up its crowd mind. Such bosses as there were would have taken the Democratic nomination to Underwood. He represented the old order; something static, conservative, stable, the frock-coated, white-vested Cleveland Democrat. But the crowd mind said no. One could see it slowly saying no as the balloting proceeded around the hundredth ballot and started on the second hundred. McAdoo and Smith, by which one means not two personalities but the two ideas, the two extremities, the two clashing civilizations, still struggled against fate in their death grip; neither would relinquish. The hundredth ballot passed and they were still clinging to life. Each had fallen below a hundred. Davis was rising; Underwood was gaining a little; not much. For none of the Southern states, the neighbors of Underwood in Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee or Texas, would touch him. Yet they feared him; feared that he would make a rush and dominate the convention. The 101st ballot passed with Davis and Underwood below. The crowd in the galleries was not yelling. It was watching a thousand men and women on the floor making up a crowd mind—a most fascinating spectacle. The 101st ballot was announced. The order of announcement for ten days had

been McAdoo first, Smith second, Underwood third, and so on down the line. The secretary stood up to read the result of the 101st ballot. It was deadly quiet in the hall. McAdoo fell below fifty. A great intake of breath ran through the crowd. They were looking at the end of a death struggle. Smith fell below thirty. A sigh was exhaled. It ran over the house, low, dreadful. The galleries were in at the death; the death struggle which had portended for sixteen days was over. Smith and McAdoo—the gay, prosperous, beautiful civilization of the East; the grim, just, thrifty civilization of the West; industrial America against rural America, that struggle dramatized by these two men was over. The thing was done!

After that another ballot made it almost sure that Davis would win. Underwood was not gaining; he was not the compromise necessary. The 103d ballot came, and quickly, as the roll was called, one knew what the end would be. State after state gave its solid vote to Davis. The drys were winning; the thrifty civilization of the West was winning. But the conservatism of the industrial East also was in the winning; a fair compromise. The crowd mind understood what it could get and took it. At the close of the balloting, before the result was announced, it was plain that Davis needed but a few more votes. State after state changed its vote and added the few necessary votes. For a few seconds there was a thrill; for a few minutes, possibly less than five, there was cheering and the band played something that ended in the "Star Spangled Banner." There was a decent moment of singing, then it was over.

That night the Democracy looked at its new leader for the first time; a kindly, oval-faced, clear-eyed, firm-jawed gentleman who spoke cautiously rather than eloquently, clearly, exactly, definitely, saying what he had

on his mind which at least was no great charge of emotion. Then the crowd for the first time saw Governor Smith—a blunt, provincial, square-jawed, square-shouldered, bright-eyed man who could not talk the language of the delegates west of the Mississippi, who clearly expressed an egotism which he did not have, and more or less it shocked those who were unused to the symbols of leadership necessary in a great city. Charles Bryan, brother of Bryan the Great, was chosen as the Vice-Presidential candidate. The elder brother rose to speak and was booed off the platform, hissed down, shoved aside, dishonored and discredited as the last act of the convention. Those who had lost Smith vented their resentment on Bryan. Those who had lost McAdoo felt no compunction to defend him. For the first time he went from a Democratic convention poorer than he came. The years were piling up. But it was not his age that lost Bryan the consideration of his fellow Democrats. They were homesick, confused and weary. The night was late, the way was dark ahead. The big crowd was a child up after bedtime. Such was the undramatic close of a convention that made history!

CHAPTER XIX

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1924

The campaign which has now progressed nearly a month from the last of the great conventions which organized it, promises to arouse the interest and perhaps even the passions of a people who for five years have been dumb and dazed and confused by the disillusion which followed a World War.

In 1920 the people voted their resentments. Heaven knows there were resentments enough to be angry about. What with the unspeakable peace that followed the war; what with the rancors and jealousies and wicked personal quarrels that thwarted the purpose for which America fought; what with the stupid candidacies of the lethargic parties; and in general what with the bitter cynicism which had crept into our hearts for a thousand reasons, it was no wonder that America struck a terrible blow at the administration in power.

In 1920 America was in a vain and petulant mood, and her vanity and petulance reflected itself more or less in the politics of the hour. This year the mood has changed. Exactly what the mood of the voters is to-day none can tell until the people have gone through their campaign, and registered their votes. Even then only a partial revelation of what they think and feel will be manifest.

But as the various organs of opinion begin to function, influencing those who have been chosen to serve the people—organs of opinion hereinbefore tested like the church, the various leagues, associations, societies, unions, Klans and conclaves; the press, the movies, the radio,

and the theater—only then shall we know what the country really has been thinking.

The national conventions of the parties helped a little to uncover the mystery in American hearts. But in describing the dramatic episodes, we must always remember that in America the party system is badly clogged and cloyed by the spoils system. After all, we are about as much interested in getting jobs for party hangers-on as we are in expressing the desires in our hearts toward governmental policies.

Yet to get an idea, even a partial idea, of what is moving in the hearts of the people, it may be wise to look back for a moment, after a month's perspective, and consider a picture of those three conventions of the major parties—the Republican and what may be call the LaFollettans in Cleveland, and the Democrats in New York. What small area of the public mind they reflect they do reflect fairly clearly, and it may be said, with some certainty, that the disillusion, petulance and wicked vanity that motivated us in 1920 are passing.

In 1920 the Republican party was the receptacle into which we cast our public spleen, our dazed, hurt egoism. This year the Republican party offers no such receptacle. During the four years passing, the Republican party into which we cast the outpourings of our wrath four years ago has become a vessel "fitted unto destruction." The pride, the national megalomania, the scorn for the weak, and a certain wilful neglect and denial of the oppressed, which suited our mood four years ago, translated itself apparently into a freebooters' charter. This charter of unrighteousness a few pirates in high places in the Republican party used as letters of marque and reprisal to raid and maraud the public treasure and so destroy a fine sense of public welfare which should inhere in public service.

The Republicans know this now. They are ashamed of it. Their convention at Cleveland was a continual apology for the wrong done under the eyes of their leaders. But their apology was not tempered with indignation. In their platform and in their candidates they have scarcely brought forth works meet unto repentance. Yet they had precious little to which they could point with pride.

They meant to be conservative. Mr. Coolidge and General Dawes are as conservative as men may be and participate in an orderly, forward-moving society. Their platform had no uplift nonsense in it—none of the chivalric foolishness about women and children first. It was a hard-boiled, cast-iron platform by intention, yet it is full of blowholes of fear. The party in its platform seems to declare vociferously against the League of Nations, but as a matter of fact, the Republican platform endorses the present wide coöperation with the League of Nations, and pledges itself to further coöperation with the League.

The Republican platform makers, at the end of their platform, roared out a roistering bull against Republicans who played around in blocs. But their denunciatory bull was a muley bull that could horn no one. Brookhart, Capper, Norris, Borah and the recalcitrant Republican senators of the North and West are going right ahead with their plans to defy the bull as if it never had bellowed out its wrath at the end of the platform.

Yet for all the wayward meanderings of Western liberal Republicans, the Republican National Convention in Cleveland did indicate most definitely a conservative spirit. The Republican leaders who dominated the convention were of the New England type, so the conservatism of the Republicans this year takes its color from New England. It is cold, thin, respectable and repressed:

a vastly different conservatism from the rampant, vindictive and scornful conservatism that dominated the Republican convention of four years ago, when the senatorial leaders put their impress upon the candidates and the party policies. This year the Republicans had too much to apologize for to spend much time denouncing the Democrats, and their convention had its chief episodic interest in the rise to power in the party of the New England business group.

This group is honest. It will breed no Falls and tolerate few Newberrys. It may be class-conscious, but it will elevate no Daughertys. Evidently this new group in control of the Republicans believes in prosperity for the great business interests of the country as the chief end of man in politics. But this New England group believes that it should let prosperity trickle down like oil from the altar. It has no remote intention of passing prosperity around.

The Republican party as it expressed itself in the Cleveland convention, and as it is now going to the country in the late summer, may well be characterized as a Union League Club in patriotic parade; plug-hatted, white-vested, tail-coated, caned and spatted, with Rotarians, Chambers of Commerce, Elks and the Retailers' Association, in two-piece suits and straw hats, marching at a respectable distance in the rear, leading behind their kid band such women's study clubs and other noble females organized to fight Bolshevism and bobbed hair, as may care to join the obsequious and dignified procession. The Republican convention reflected an orderly movement, a tremendous desire to be honest, effective and well-considered. The revelations of the investigating committee at Washington have put under the plug hat and white vest and tail coat of this stern apotheosis of the status quo, that most precious gift of God—the humble

and contrite heart. All it wants is a chance to redeem itself, and in its present mood and with its present leadership the Republican party in power would be a wise, industrious and faithful servant.

The Democrats, in their convention, were at every point the perfect antithesis of their Republican neighbors. The Republican party, broadly speaking, and allowing for many exceptions, is recruited from the ruling classes of the land. They are orderly, exact and purposeful in their intellectual and political processes. The Democrats, also speaking broadly and allowing for perhaps wider exceptions to the rule, come from the governing classes. They are Celtic in the East, cavaliers in the South, and the free, unorganizable, unsurrendered spirits, in the West. They have their moments of abandon. They take joy in their emotional expression. So always, a Democratic convention at its mildest, is full of pomp and ceremony, and at its freest, would complicate its ceremony with assassination, if it assembled a few degrees nearer the equator.

Tumult is ever the regular parliamentary order of a Democratic convention, and this convention of 1924 left home with dynamite in its satchel. It had two major issues upon its heart. Prohibition was one. The freedom of religious opinion and expression was another. A minor issue concerned the League of Nations, and aside from these three issues, nothing mattered much.

This is all in perspective now. A month has passed, and the bitterness of the contests which marked the Democratic convention inevitably must fade and die. But the state of mind and heart which brought these issues to the front in the convention will have an important bearing upon this campaign, even when the issues that flared up and burned so ruthlessly into the proceedings of the convention are gone.

It was not by accident that this fire of burning issues consumed sixteen days of the Democratic convention, and left the Republicans unscathed. The Republican party is geographically sectional. It functions but feebly, if at all, in the South, and also is as weak in its expression outside of the middle class. It is strongest among the upper middle classes.

Speaking pretty broadly again, for one must generalize, a Republican typically has no trouble with prohibition. He can get his liquor if he wants it, because he can pay the price, and he has a lot of interests in life which make liquor rather extraneous. He can worship his God, who generally is a Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal or Methodist God, in his own pew and in his own way, without finding any economic restriction upon his faith. But your Democrat, being anywhere from the bread line to the Governor's office, being half or two-thirds Irish in the city, and a Southern gentleman, in the rural states, has trouble with his liquor. It costs him too much. If he can afford to pay the price in money, the price in self-respect which he pays when he sneaks it, by buying of a bootlegger, sears his proud soul.

And also, one must remember that in the Democratic party are millions of citizens to whom the prohibitive price of bootleg liquor, and the daily need to get out of the dull routine of circumscribed lives, makes prohibition a vital issue. And then in opposition to all this, do not forget that out West are vast areas where the successful operation of prohibition for from ten to twenty years has created a solid body of public sentiment, supporting prohibition. Therefore to oppose prohibition in a national platform would virtually turn thousands of deserving Democrats out of office. So the clash on pro-

hibition, in the Democratic platform, came out of reality, and not out of a political fiction.

The economic position of millions of Democrats also is affected by their religion. Your Catholic is no more clannish than a Methodist would be if the Methodist was isolated, as too often the Catholic is isolated in an American community. He does what any other man, Rotarian, Presbyterian or Scotchman, would do; he stands by his friends. If he is a foreman, he sees that his friends have work; if he is a ward leader, he sees that his friends have jobs; work and jobs mean life and comfort. Thus religion has an economic phase.

Your Catholic, therefore, finds himself facing an organization which opposes his religious freedom. The same organization meets in the Jew a keen competitor, who also lets his feeling for the ties of blood sometimes temper the edge of his bargaining sword. In the South, the Negro rising in the industrial scale, demanding a larger share in the civilization which he is helping to build, meets the Southern cracker. There the economic phase of life translates itself into a social statement of the case. Mix up all this jealousy with ignorance, bigotry and the blind yearnings of a neglected social and economic class—white Protestant and native born—aspiring to be somebody politically; cover the whole thing with a sheet and pillow case and give it a pompous and terrifying jargon and behold the Klan—the Ku Klux Klan.

This tremendous clash in the Democratic convention, therefore, which began in the platform, and lasted with shattering force through over one hundred ballots, for a Presidential candidate, had an economic basis. The Democrats on both sides of the issues of prohibition and the Ku Klux Klan are not satisfied with things as they

are; they are aspiring. Their platform was, if anything, a cut or two below the Republican platform in intelligence and courage. But the soul of that Democratic convention, possibly twisted, distorted, and in large areas dull, was a soul terrifically aspiring. It represented a mood so different from the mood expressed by the Republican convention that it seemed to come out of another country, and another time, and possibly another race.

The issue of the League of Nations, which was for a few hours so vital in the Democratic convention, arose from mixed motives. The Irish and the Germans, naturally hating and fearing England, have distrusted the League, and with thousands of Western Democrats a feeling hung over from 1920, that the League caused their defeat. On the other hand, millions of business men and farmers have felt that the League, as a stabilizing power in world politics, would reëstablish normal commerce, stimulate prices, and make the world safe for the American dollar. So, more or less, the League of Nations issue was economic. The whole turmoil, confusion, bickering, baiting, howling and hating that marked a dozen climactic moments in the Democratic convention were not so futile and fatuous as they seemed. They were symbols of social and economic unrest, discontent, high hopes for better and nobler things, even if sometimes those hopes were nurtured in small and narrow minds.

The Republicans were consistent in nominating their ticket. Coolidge and Dawes are perfect expressions of the spirit that prevailed at the Republican convention. They stand exactly for the policies which the leaders of that convention, the New England group, expect to return to a grateful nation, if it shall do itself the honor to accept the Republican dictum.

The Democrats, in their nomination, expressed them-

selves, at the end of "long days of labor and nights devoid of ease," in nominees for President and Vice-President who perfectly typified the unrest and confusion and high visioning that characterized the Democratic convention.

Mr. Davis and Mr. Bryan stand poles apart. Mr. Davis, mythically, is a conservative. Mr. Bryan was elected Governor of Nebraska as a liberal. Yet scarcely has the summer deepened to early August before Mr. Davis is talking like a Wilsonian liberal, and Mr. Bryan like a wistful little stepbrother of the rich. It is apparent that the Democratic party, working with the yeast of a great and still unseen vision, will try in this campaign to attract the mildly liberal forces which were scattered when Roosevelt and Wilson passed on. The hard-boiled Democratic friends of the party in New York City who expect Davis to follow the path where Alton B. Parker disappeared pursuing Grover Cleveland, will have a moment of sad awakening before the campaign is over. Mr. Davis will be uttering seriously such taboo words as "ideals," "nobility of purpose," "the open door of opportunity for all" and other expressions which to the closed mind of your material conservative are little less than indecency.

The Democratic party, in spite of the tremendous pressure of a normally Tory East, will try to gather to it the forces of middle-ground liberalism, too impatient for Mr. Coolidge, and not agile enough for Mr. LaFollette. The Democratic campaign, of necessity in the end will advocate international altruism; first because its platform upon the League of Nations is absurd, and second because Mr. Davis as a Presidential candidate is intelligent, courageous and convinced in his belief that the League of Nations must become eventually the great agency of world peace. It follows inevitably that the Democracy will find itself turning a sympathetic ear to

the voices of all the oppressed at home who are willing to take relief in mild doses out of the Democratic bottle.

At the left of the Democrats stands LaFollette. For thirty years his name has been growing famous in American politics—and always it has stood for one thing—courageous, constructive, ultra-liberalism, which to the conservative seems radicalism, and to the liberal seems merely hasty! This year LaFollette is leading a group of spirits which he has himself called from the vasty deep.

LaFollette has ever been a lone fighter. Compromise is not in his lexicon. It was inevitable that he should postpone the organization of his party until after the election. He could not possibly organize a party now. His convention in Cleveland, in July, was hardly a convention at all. It was a tribute; a splendid tribute to a brave man whose wisdom for thirty active, successful years in American politics has been vindicated by time more often than that of any other contemporary statesman. He is a man of the highest personal character. Personally he is incorruptible. Politically he is immovable in his determination to battle in a finish fight for what he deems a just and righteous cause. His intellectual processes are strong and sound. In no personal quality of heart or mind or soul is either of his adversaries his superior. Birth, heredity, environment, have made him a crusader. He loves a long trek—the lone trail.

Coolidge is a lion with his class and caste surrounding him. Davis gets his courage from his mind. He is brave among his books, amid his traditions. LaFollette grows strong drinking his own blood, becomes berserker when he whirls alone and turns upon the world. In this contest his personality and his creed, which may hardly be called a platform, will attract votes. A great crowd will rally to LaFollette because he is LaFollette. He might

have stated his creed in a dozen different forms, or put forth no political pronouncement whatever, still his faithful disciples would follow him. They are the extreme left wing of those political forces which believe that the ballot is still a constructive force in modern life. Among them are the Socialists, the free thinkers of many cults; possibly the single-taxers and the Bull Moosers, locoed by the inertia of the times; the organized farmer, the organized laborer, the dreamers among the foreign-born. Naturally this group ought to be worth a million votes to Mr. LaFollette, at least, but it will be a minority in his following. He is sure to have a menacing vote of protest. Consciously or unconsciously, he has moved himself into a position where he attracts, naturally, that protest vote. And his enemies, those who hate him most, are helping him most to get that vote. Their chief argument against him is that he is leading a minority party, that he is of no importance. So millions who more or less disagree with him do not fear to vote for him, that they may register their protest.

Mr. Davis's legal connections are being emphasized unfairly by his opponents, and the net result of this emphasis will be to split the conservative vote between Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Davis. To the man in the factory or on the farm, to the clerk or to the small storekeeper, there will seem to be little difference between the liberal conservatism of Mr. Davis and the cautious conservatism of Mr. Coolidge. But this small and neglected man may see in LaFollette a challenging adventure into something new. His elders and betters tell him this adventure is idle.

"Fine," says the little man. "If it doesn't cost anything, I'll take a chance."

More than this, both the old parties are dry. One is as bone dry as the other. The two old parties will split

the dry vote. LaFollette's record is wet, and your respectable Eastern seaboard citizen groaning over his mahogany desk four hours a day, at hard labor, to buy furs for the bootlegger's daughter, turns to LaFollette naturally, as to one who can express the tired business man's dream of a twenty-five cent bottle of beer in the ice box. So he, being fed on the pabulum that LaFollette is merely an innocuous protest, proceeds to swell the LaFollette vote.

And so there abideth these three—Coolidge, Davis and LaFollette. Each represents, fairly definitely, an estate in American politics. The honest, intelligent, efficient and courageous conservative finds a haven after his own heart in the Republican party. The restless, confused liberal who is too intelligent to believe that the moon is made of green cheese and so qualifies his hopes by his sad experience, will find rest for his soul with Davis and the Democrats. The free, untrammeled, fearless and disillusioned liberal of the left wing, the radical, the discontented, and the hot, rebellious seeker for illicit booze, will gather with frank enthusiasm around the banner of LaFollette.

The danger of LaFollette to those who regard his cause as a menace, arises from the fact that he alone has had the courage to state, simply, bluntly and in its rawest terms, the creed which he espouses. Fear has divided his adversaries. And LaFollette's courage as a lone fighter has united his forces.

It has been many years since American politics has seen issues and causes so clearly and simply stated. If there is, as we old-fashioned people believe who still are fond of our Constitution, any virtue left in the ballot as a means of expressing political faith, here in this campaign we find it easy for the average citizen to cast his vote. But, of course, it is impossible that

when the ballots are counted they will produce a mandate from the people for our government to follow either of the parties. The result will be a compromise naturally. And there will be a wisdom in the compromise even though for a moment it may bring confusion.

Fortunately when the votes are counted, when the President and the Congress are elected, the other agencies of government which express public opinion will in the end bring order out of confusion; will give final instructions to our public servants. This is not a government of parties. It is a government of public opinion, and public opinion is a thousand-throated voice. The parties sound but one small trumpet on this clarion note. Yet this thousand-throated voice none the less speaks clearly, and at last through confusion and conflict, amid hesitation and doubt, does utter the Voice of God.

CHAPTER XX

AND FINALLY, BRETHREN——

During the foregoing pages some attempt has been made to show the reader politics actually working in a Presidential year, and how public sentiment is organized and directed to a certain extent by the national organizations and agencies which attempt to make effective in our public life the ideas around which they gather. The machinery by which Presidents are named and party platforms put forth has been sketched in here, perhaps more vividly than accurately. These two conventions which have just been so elaborately and yet so inadequately described were extraordinary and yet typical of the two parties. The movement which nominated Mr. LaFollette and refused to organize a party was to a certain extent typical of what always is the independent movement in the United States. It is stronger this year than it has been for a decade. Something of the same kind of a movement was organized, of course, under Mr. Roosevelt twelve years ago, and twenty years before that General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was the leader of a similar movement. These independent movements also are typical, as the two party organizations are typical. Always there will be, in one shape or another, the party of protest. In America since the Civil War that protest has been a liberal protest, sometimes, as under General Weaver and Mr. LaFollette, verging into the ultra-liberal and not ashamed of being called radical. Into one of these receptacles—the Republican party, the Democratic

party, the LaFollette candidacy—the voter probably will cast his ballot.

It has been the purpose of this book to show that this particular ballot is not the first and final duty of a good citizen. Partisan political activity in a party may begin and end a few months before and after election. But political activity, to be really effective, must never let down. When a citizen defines for himself his creed, he should join others, probably various groups of others, who believe as he believes. Through them he can accomplish results. Through them he can move the parties and the men elected by the parties. Through these vehicles which carry sentiment into public institutions, the citizen can carry his private opinion to market and make it finally public sentiment. In the end he sees it institutionalized into law or executive action.

To know and understand all this should not discourage the citizen. Merely to realize that his constitutional government is not functioning alone as it was a hundred years ago and that another government is building about it, a government just now beyond legal bonds, yet a powerful government, should not frighten the citizen. For this new government is easily accessible. One has but to reach out his hand to become effective in it. But very soon it must be legally controlled. A little time, a little thought, a small amount of money will bring to the average man or woman, operating through these newer agencies of politics, all the power he deserves. And it increases as he multiplies his gifts.

Probably our Constitution is adequate to all the strain that this modern civilization puts upon it; and surely it may be amended as rapidly as the need for amendment develops in the hearts of the people. Ours is a good government, this constitutional government devised by the fathers, good for to-day when one considers it

along with the newer forces which bring this government home to the people. Every reason exists why a citizen should do his full part in the politics of the country. If he dislikes party politics, well and good. Party politics is not of the utmost moment. A citizen can work outside his party and accomplish as much as if he were elected a delegate to his national convention. Any man or woman who is made of parts sufficient to entitle him or her to a delegate's seat in a party convention can take his ideas to that party convention as a representative of one of the major leagues, unions, associations or societies which help to make party platforms, and which after the platforms are forgotten still help to form legislation and influence government. No impediment of sex, race, age, education or commercial status hinders the citizen who would go to his political business wholeheartedly and effectively. Never before in our history has the way been so open as it is to-day. Never before has it been possible for one voter to acquire so much strength in his government if he only will try, as he may have to-day. Democracy never was so near the people as it is in the United States of America in this year that is passing. Under a strictly constitutional government, in America to-day the citizen might lose his political identity. But he has changed the government, opened scores of roads of access to influence and effective service, and to-day stands upright, self-respecting, powerful to release in righteous political endeavor the full voltage of such a mind and heart as God has given to him!

APPENDIX

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

We, the delegates of the Republican party, in national convention assembled, bow our heads in reverent memory of Warren G. Harding.

We nominated him four years ago to be our candidate; the people of the nation elected him their President. His human qualities gripped the affections of the American people. He was a public servant unswerving in his devotion to duty.

A stanch Republican, he was first of all a true patriot, who gave unstintingly of himself during a trying and critical period of our national life.

His conception and successful direction of the Limitation of Armament Conference in Washington was an achievement which advanced the world along the path toward peace.

As delegates of the Republican party, we share in the national thanksgiving that in the great emergency created by the death of our great leader there stood forth fully equipped to be his successor one whom we had nominated as Vice-President—Calvin Coolidge, who as Vice-President and President by his every act has justified the faith and confidence which he has won from the nation.

He has put the public welfare above personal considerations. He has given to the people practical idealism in office. By his every act he has won without seeking the applause of the people of the country. The constantly accumulating evidence of his integrity, vision and single-minded devotion to the needs of the people of this nation strengthens and inspires our confident faith in his continued leadership.

SITUATION IN 1921

When the Republican Administration took control of the Government in 1921 there were 4,500,000 unemployed; industry and commerce were stagnant; agriculture was prostrate; business was depressed; Government bonds were selling below their par value.

Peace was delayed; misunderstanding and friction characterized our relations abroad. There was a lack of faith in the administration of Government resulting in a growing feeling of distrust in the very principles upon which our institutions are founded.

To-day industry and commerce are active; public and private credits are sound. We have made peace; we have taken the first step toward disarmament and strengthened our friendship with the world powers; our relations with the rest of the world are on a firmer basis, our position was never better understood; our foreign policy never more definite and consistent. The tasks to which we have put our hands are completed. Time has been too short for the correction of all the ills we received as a heritage from the last Democratic Administration, and the notable accomplishments under Republican rule warrant us in appealing to the country with entire confidence.

PUBLIC ECONOMY

We demand, and the people of the United States have a right to demand, rigid economy in government. A policy of strict economy enforced by the Republican Administration since 1921 has made possible a reduction in taxation and has enabled the Government to reduce the public debt by two and a half billion dollars. This policy vigorously enforced has resulted in a progressive reduction of public expenditures until they are now two billion dollars per annum less than in 1921. The tax

burdens of the people have been relieved to the extent of $1,250,000,000 per annum. Government securities have been increased in value more than three billion dollars. Deficits have been converted in surpluses. The budget system has been firmly established and the number of federal employees has been reduced more than one hundred thousand. We commend the firm insistence of President Coolidge upon rigid Government economy and pledge him our earnest support to this end.

FINANCE AND TAXATION

We believe that the achievement of the Republican Administration in reducing taxation by $1,250,000,000 per annum; reducing of the public debt by $2,432,000,000; installing a budget system; reducing the public expenditures from $5,500,000,000 per annum to approximately $3,400,000,000 per annum, thus reducing the ordinary expenditures of the Government to substantially a pre-war basis, and the complete restoring of public credit; the payment or refunding of $7,500,000,000 of public obligations without disturbance of credit or industry—all during the short period of three years—presents a record unsurpassed in the history of public finance.

The assessment of taxes wisely and scientifically collected and the efficient and economical expenditure of the money received by the Government are essential to the prosperity of our nation. Carelessness in levying taxes inevitably breeds extravagance in expenditures. The wisest of taxation rests most rightly on the individual and economic life of the country. The public demand for a sound tax policy is insistent.

Progressive tax reduction should be accomplished through tax reform. It should not be confined to less than 4,000,000 of our citizens who pay direct taxes, but

is the right of the more than 100,000,000 who are daily paying their taxes through their living expenses. Congress has in the main confined its work to tax reduction. The matter of tax reform is still unsettled and is equally essential.

We pledge ourselves to the progressive reduction of taxes of all the people as rapidly as may be done with due regard for the essential expenditures of the Government administered with rigid economy, and to place our tax system on a sound, peace-time basis.

We endorse the plan of President Coolidge to call in November a national conference of federal and state officials for the development of effective methods of lightening the tax burden of our citizens and adjusting questions of taxation as between national and state governments.

We favor the creation by appropriate legislation of a non-partisan federal commission to make a comprehensive study and report upon the tax systems of the states and federal government with a view to an intelligent reformation of our systems of taxation to a more equitable basis, and a proper adjustment of the subjects of taxation as between the national and state governments, with justice to the taxpayer and in conformity with these sound economic principles.

REORGANIZATION OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

We favor a comprehensive reorganization of the executive departments and bureaus along the line of the plan recently submitted by a joint committee of the Congress, which has the unqualified support of President Coolidge.

CIVIL SERVICE

The improvement in the enforcement of the merit system both by legislative enactment and executive action

since March 4, 1921, has been marked and effective. By executive order the appointment of Presidential postmasters has been placed on the merit basis similar to that applying to the classified service.

We favor the classification of postmasters in first, second and third class post offices and the placing of the prohibition enforcement forces within the classified civil service without necessarily incorporating the present personnel.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Republican party reaffirms its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace. As an important step in this direction we endorse the Permanent Court of International Justice and favor the adherence of the United States to this tribunal as recommended by President Coolidge. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the Covenant of the League. On this we stand.

While we are unwilling to enter into political commitments which would involve us in the conflict of European policies, it should be the purpose and high privilege of the United States to continue to coöperate with other nations in humanitarian efforts in accordance with our cherished traditions.

The basic principles of our foreign policy must be independence without indifference to the rights and necessities of others and coöperation without entangling alliances. This policy, overwhelmingly approved by the people, has been vindicated since the end of the World War.

America's participation in world affairs under the administration of President Harding and President Coolidge has demonstrated the wisdom and prudence of the

national judgment. A most impressive example of the capacity of the United States to serve the cause of world peace without political affiliations was shown in the effective and beneficent work of the Dawes commission toward the solution of the perplexing question of German reparations.

The first conference of great powers in Washington called by President Harding accomplished the limitation of armaments and the readjustment of the relations of the powers interested in the Far East. The conference resulted in an agreement to reduce armaments, relieved the competitive nations involved from the heavy burdens of taxation arising from the construction and maintenance of capital battleships, assured a new, broader and better understanding in the Far East; brought the assurance of peace in the region of the Pacific, and formally adopted the policy of the open door for trade and commerce in the markets of the Far East.

The historic conference paved the way to avert the danger of renewed hostilities in Europe and to restore the necessary economic stability. While the military forces of America have been reduced to a peace footing, there has been an increase in the land and air forces abroad which constitutes a continual menace to the peace of the world and a bar to the return of prosperity.

We firmly advocate the calling of a conference on the limitation of land forces, the use of submarines and poison gas, as proposed by President Coolidge, when, through the adoption of a permanent reparations plan, the conditions in Europe will make negotiations and coöperation opportune and possible.

By treaties of peace safeguarding our rights and without derogating those of our former associates in arms, the Republican Administration ended the war between this country and Germany and Austria. We have con-

cluded and signed with other nations during the last three years more than fifty treaties and international agreements in the furtherance of peace and good-will.

New sanctions and new proofs of permanent accord have marked our relations with all Latin America. The long-standing controversy between Chile and Peru has been advanced toward settlement by its submission to the President of the United States as arbitrator and with the helpful coöperation of this country a treaty has been signed by the representatives of sixteen American republics, which will stabilize conditions on the American continent and minimize the opportunities for war.

Our difficulties with Mexico have happily yielded to a most friendly adjustment. Mutual confidence has been restored and a pathway for that friendliness and helpfulness which should exist between this Government and the government of our neighboring republic has been marked. Agreements have been entered into for the determination by judicial commissions of the claims of the citizens of each country against the respective governments. We can confidently look forward to more permanent and more stable relations with this republic that joins for so many miles our southern border.

Our policy, now well defined, of giving practical aid to other peoples without assuming political obligations has been conspicuously demonstrated. The ready and generous response of America to the needs of Japan gave evidence of our helpful interest in the welfare of the distressed in other lands.

The work of our representatives in dealing with subjects of such universal concern as the traffic in women and children, the production and distribution of narcotic drugs, the sale of arms, and in matters affecting public health and morals, demonstrated that we can effectively do our part for humanity and civilization without for-

feiting, limiting or restricting our national freedom of action.

The American people do cherish their independence, but their sense of duty to all mankind will ever prompt them to give their support, service and leadership to every cause which makes for peace and amity among the nations of the world.

FOREIGN DEBTS

In fulfillment of our solemn pledge in the national platform of 1920 we have steadfastly refused to consider the cancellation of foreign debts. Our attitude has not been that of any oppressive creditor seeking immediate return and ignoring existing financial conditions, but has been based on the conviction that a moral obligation such as was incurred should not be disregarded.

We stand for settlements with all debtor countries similar in character to our debt agreement with Great Britain. That settlement, achieved under a Republican Administration, was the greatest international financial transaction in the history of the world. Under the terms of the agreement the United States now receives an annual return upon $4,600,000,000 owing to us by Great Britain with a definite obligation of ultimate payment in full.

The justness of the basis employed has been formally recognized by other debtor nations.

Great nations cannot recognize or admit the principle of repudiation. To do so would undermine the integrity essential for international trade, commerce and credit. Thirty-five per cent of the total foreign debt is now in process of liquidation.

THE TARIFF

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff to ex-

tend needed protection to our productive industries. We believe in protection as a national policy, with due and equal regard to all sections and to agriculture, industries and occupations. It is only by adherence to such a policy that the well-being of the consumers can be safeguarded and that there can be assured to American agriculture, to American labor and to American manufacturers a return to perpetuate American standards of life. A protective tariff is designed to support the high American economic level of life for the average family and to prevent a lowering to the levels of economic life prevailing in other lands.

It is the history of the nation that the protective tariff system has ever justified itself by restoring confidence, promoting industrial activity and employment, enormously increasing our purchasing power and bringing increased prosperity to all our people.

The tariff protection to our industry works for increased consumption of domestic agricultural products by an employed population instead of one unable to purchase the necessities of life. Without the strict maintenance of the tariff principle our farmers will need always to compete with cheap lands and cheap labor abroad and with lower standards of living.

The enormous value of the protective principle has once more been demonstrated by the emergency tariff act of 1921 and the tariff act of 1922.

We assert our belief in the elastic provision adopted by Congress in the tariff act of 1922 providing for a method of readjusting the tariff rates and the classifications in order to meet changing economic conditions when such changed conditions are brought to the attention of the President by complaint or application.

We believe that the power to increase or decrease any rate of duty provided in the tariff furnishes a safeguard,

on the one hand, against excessive taxes, and, on the other hand, against too high customs charges.

The wise provisions of this section of the tariff act afford ample opportunity for tariff duties to be adjusted after a hearing in order that they may cover the actual differences in the cost of production in the United States and the principal competing countries of the world.

We also believe that the application of this provision of the tariff act will contribute to business stability by making unnecessary general disturbances which are usually incident to general tariff revision.

AGRICULTURE

In dealing with agriculture the Republican party recognizes that we are faced with a fundamental national problem and that the prosperity and welfare of the nation as a whole is dependent upon the prosperity and welfare of our agricultural population.

We recognize our agricultural activities are still struggling with adverse conditions that have brought about distress. We pledge the party to take whatever steps are necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor, which was destroyed by the Democratic party through an unfortunate administration of legislation passed as war-time methods.

We affirm that under the Republican Administration the problems of the farmer have received more serious consideration than ever before, both by definite executive action and by Congressional action, not only in the field of general legislation but also in the enactment of laws to meet emergency situations.

The restoration of general prosperity and the purchasing power of our people through tariff protection has resulted in an increased domestic consumption of farm products, while the price of many agricultural commodi-

ties are above the war price level by reason of direct tariff protection.

Under the leadership of the President at the most critical time, a corporation was organized by private capital, making available $100,000,000 to assist the farmers of the Northwest.

In realization of the disturbance in the agricultural export market, the result of the financial depression in Europe, and appreciating that the export field would be enormously improved by economic rehabilitation and the resulting increased consuming power, a sympathetic support and direction was given to the work of the American representatives on the European Reparation Commission.

The revival in 1921 of the War Finance Corporation, with loans of over $300,000,000, averted in 1921 a complete collapse in the agricultural industry.

We have established new intermediate credit banks for agriculture and increased the capital of the Federal Farm Loan system. Emergency loans have been granted to drought-stricken areas. We have enacted into law the Coöperative Marketing act, the Grain Futures and Packer Control acts; given to agriculture direct representation on the Federal Reserve Board and on the Federal Aid Commission. We have greatly strengthened our foreign marketing service for the disposal of our agricultural products.

The crux of the problem from the standpoint of the farmer is the net profit he receives after his outlay. The process of bringing the average prices of what he buys and what he sells closer together can be promptly expedited by reduction in taxes, steady employment in industry and stability in business.

This process can be expedited by lower freight rates, by better marketing through coöperative efforts and a more scientific organization of the physical human

machinery of distribution and by a greater diversification of farm products.

We promise every assistance in the reorganization of the market system on sounder and more economical lines and, where diversification is needed, Government assistance during the period of transition. Vigorous efforts of this Administration toward broadening our exports market will be continued.

The Republican party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which will place the agricultural interests of America on a basis of economic equality with other industry to assure its prosperity and success. We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agricultural products as are threatened by competition. We favor, without putting the Government into business, the establishment of a federal system of organization for coöperative marketing of food products.

MINING

The mining industry has experienced a period of depression as the result of the abnormal economic conditions growing out of the war. This Administration has accomplished much in improving the conditions affecting this great fundamental industry and pledges itself to continue its effort in this direction.

HIGHWAYS

The Federal Aid Road act, adopted by the Republican Congress in 1921, has been of inestimable value to the development of the highway system of the several states and of the nation. We pledge a continuation of this policy of federal coöperation with the states in highway building.

We favor the construction of roads and trails in our national forests necessary to their protection and utiliza-

tion. In appropriations, therefore, the taxes which these lands would pay if taxable should be considered as a controlling factor.

LABOR

The increasing stress of industrial life, the constant and necessary efforts, because of world competition, to increase production and decrease costs, have made it specially incumbent on those in authority to protect labor from undue exactions.

We commend Congress for having recognized this possibility in its prompt adoption of the recommendation of President Coolidge for a constitutional amendment authorizing Congress to legislate on the subject of child labor, and we urge the prompt consideration of that amendment by the legislatures of the various states.

There is no success great enough to justify the employment of women in labor under conditions which will impair their natural functions.

We favor high standards of wage, working and living conditions among the women employed in industry.

We pledge a continuance of the successful efforts of the Republican Administration to eliminate the seven-day, twelve-hour work week in industry. We regard with satisfaction the elimination of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry, and the agreement of alternate thirteen and eleven hours, accomplished through the efforts of Presidents Harding and Coolidge. We declare our faith in the principle of the eight-hour day.

We pledge a continuation of the work of rehabilitating workers in industry as conducted by the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and favor adequate appropriations for this purpose.

We favor a broader and better system of vocational education, a more adequate system of federal free em-

ployment agencies, with facilities for assisting the movements of seasonable and migratory labor, including farm labor, with ample organization for bringing the man and his job together.

RAILROADS

The people demand and are entitled to have prompt and efficient transportation at the lowest rates consistent with good service and a reasonable return upon the value of the property devoted to public service.

We believe that the American people demand, and we favor, a careful and scientific readjustment of railroad rates scheduled with a view to the encouragement of agriculture and basic industries, without impairment of railroad service.

The present laws regulating railroads, which were enacted to meet post-war conditions, should be modified from time to time as experience shows the necessity therefor.

The consolidation of railroads into fewer competitive systems, subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, should be provided for.

The Labor Board provisions of the present law should be amended whenever it appears from experience that such action is necessary. Collective bargaining, mediation and voluntary arbitration are the most important steps in maintaining peaceful labor relations and should be encouraged. We do not believe in compulsory action at any time in the settlement of labor disputes.

Public opinion must be the final arbiter in any crisis which so vitally affects public welfare as the suspension of transportation.

Therefore the interests of the public require the maintenance of an impartial tribunal which can in an emergency make an investigation of the facts and publish its

conclusions. This is essential as a basis for popular judgment.

We favor a stable, consistent and constructive policy toward our railroads.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL

The prosperity of the American nation rests on the vigor of private initiative which has bred a spirit of independence and self-reliance. The Republican party stands now as always against all attempts to put the Government into business.

American industry should not be compelled to struggle against Government competition. The right of the Government to regulate, supervise and control public utilities and public interests we believe should be strengthened, but we are firmly opposed to the nationalization of Government ownership of public utilities.

COAL

The price and a constant supply of this essential commodity are of vital interest to the public. The Government has no constitutional power to regulate prices, but can bring its influence to bear by the powerful instrument afforded by full publicity.

When through industrial conflict its supply is threatened, the President should have authority to appoint a commission to act as mediators and as a medium for voluntary arbitration. In the event of a strike, the control of distribution must be invoked to prevent profiteering.

MERCHANT MARINE

The Republican party stands for a strong and permanent merchant marine built by Americans, owned by Americans and manned by Americans, to secure the necessary contact with world markets for our surplus

agricultural products and manufactures; to protect our shippers and importers from exorbitant ocean freight rates, and to become a powerful arm of our national defense.

That part of the merchant marine now owned by the Government should continue to be improved in its economic and efficient management, with reduction of the losses now paid by the Government through taxation until it is finally placed on so sound a basis that, with ocean freight rates becoming normal, due to improvement in international affairs, it can be sold to American citizens.

WATERWAYS, FLOOD CONTROL AND WATER POWER

Fully realizing the vital importance of transportation in both cost and service to all our people, we favor the construction of the most feasible waterways from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico and the improvement and development of rivers, harbors and waterways, inland and coastwise, to the fullest extent justified by the presence and potential tonnage available.

We favor a comprehensive survey of the conditions under which the flood waters of the Colorado River may be controlled and utilized for the benefit of the people of the states which border thereon.

The Federal Water Power act establishes national water-power policy and the way has thereby been opened for the greatest water-power development in history under conditions which preserve the initiative of our people, yet protect the public interests.

THE WORLD WAR VETERANS

We reaffirm the admiration and gratitude which we feel for soldiers and sailors; the Republican party

pledges a continual and increasing solicitude for all those suffering any disability as a result of service to the United States in time of war. No country and no Administration has ever shown a more generous disposition in the care of its disabled or more thoughtful consideration in providing a sound administration for the solution of the many problems involved in making intended benefits fully, directly and promptly available to the veterans.

The confusion, inefficiency and maladministration existing heretofore since the establishment of this Government agency have been cured and plans are being actively made looking to a further improvement in the operation of the bureau by the passage of new legislation.

The basic statute has been so liberalized as to bring within its terms 100,000 additional beneficiaries. The privilege of hospitalization in Government hospitals, as recommended by President Coolidge, has been granted to all veterans irrespective of the origin of disability, and over $50,000,000 has been appropriated for hospital construction, which will provide sufficient beds to care for all.

Appropriations totaling over $1,100,000,000 made by the Republican Congress for the care of the disabled evidences the unmistakable purpose of the Government not to consider costs when the welfare of these men is at stake. No legislation for the benefit of the disabled soldier proposed during the last four years by veterans' organizations has failed to receive consideration.

We pledge ourselves to meet the problems of the future affecting the care of our wounded and disabled in a spirit of liberality and with that thoughtful consideration which will enable the Government to give to the individual veterans that full measure of care guaranteed by an effective administration machinery to which his patriotic services and sacrifices entitle him.

CONSERVATION

We believe in the development, effective and efficient, whether of oil, timber, coal or water power resources of this Government, only as needed and only after the public need has become a matter of public record, controlled with a scrupulous regard and ever vigilant safeguards against waste, speculation and monopoly.

The natural resources of the country belong to all the people and are a part of an estate belonging to generations yet unborn. The Government policy should be to safeguard, develop and utilize these possessions. The conservation policy of the nation originated with the Republican party, under the inspiration of Theodore Roosevelt. We hold it a privilege of the Republican party to build as a memorial to him on the foundation which he laid.

EDUCATION AND RELIEF

The conservation of human resources is one of the most solemn responsibilities of government. There is an obligation which cannot be ignored and which demands that the Federal Government shall, as far as lies in its power, give to the people and the states the benefit of its counsel.

The welfare activities of the Government connected with the various departments are already numerous and important, but lack the coördination which is essential to effective action. To meet these needs, we approve the suggestion for the creation of a cabinet post of education and relief.

UNIVERSAL MOBILIZATION IN WAR TIME

We believe that in time of war the nation should draft for its defense not only its citizens, but also every resource which may contribute to success.

The country demands that should the United States ever again be called upon to defend itself by arms, the President be empowered to draft such material resources and such service as may be required and to stabilize the prices of services and essential commodities, whether used in actual warfare or private activities.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

The unprecedented living conditions in Europe following the World War created a condition by which we were threatened with mass immigration that would have seriously disturbed our economic life. The law recently enacted is designed to protect the inhabitants of our country, not only the American citizen, but also the alien already with us who is seeking to secure an economic foothold for himself and family, from the competition that would come from unrestricted immigration. The administrative features of the law represent a great constructive advance and eliminate the hardships suffered by immigrants under the emergency statute.

We favor the adoption of methods which will exercise a helpful influence among the foreign-born population and provide for the education of the alien in our language, customs, ideals and standards of life. We favor the improvement of naturalization laws.

HAWAII—ALASKA

We favor a continuance for the Territory of Hawaii of federal assistance in harbor improvements, the appropriation of its share of federal funds, and the systematic extension of the settlement of public lands by the Hawaiian race.

We endorse the policy of the present Administration in reference to Alaska and favor a continuance of the constructive development of the Territory.

PHILIPPINES

The Philippines policy of the Republican party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from parties and politics.

In accepting the obligation which came to them with the control of the Philippine Islands, the American people has only the wish to serve, advance and improve the condition of the Filipino people. That thought will continue to be the dominating factor in the American consideration of the many problems which must inevitably grow out of our relationship to the people.

If the time comes when it is evident to Congress that independence would be better for the people of the Philippines with respect to both their domestic concerns and their status in the world, and the Filipino people then desire complete independence, the American Government will gladly accord it. A careful study of the conditions in the Philippine Islands has convinced us that the time for such action has not yet arrived.

RECLAMATION

Federal reclamation of the arid and semi-arid lands in the West has been the subject of intensive study in the Department of the Interior during the past fiscal year. New policies and methods of operation have been adopted which promise to insure the successful accomplishment of the objects sought. The completion of this reorganization plan is regarded as one of the achievements of the present Administration in the interests of farmers immediately and of all the people ultimately.

COMMERCIAL AVIATION

We advocate the early enactment of such legislation

and the taking of such steps by the Government as will tend to promote commercial aviation.

ARMY AND NAVY

There must be no further weakening of our regular army, and we advocate appropriations sufficient to provide for the training of all members of the National Guard, the citizens' military training camps, the reserve officers' training camps and the reserves who may offer themselves for service. We pledge ourselves to round out and maintain the navy to the full strength provided the United States by the letter and spirit of the Limitation of Armament Conference.

THE NEGRO

We urge the Congress to enact at the earliest possible date a federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the federal government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime. We believe that much of the misunderstanding which now exists can be eliminated by humane and sympathetic study of its causes. The President has recommended the creation of a commission for the investigation of social and economic conditions and the promotion of mutual understanding and confidence.

ORDERLY GOVERNMENT

The Republican party reaffirms its devotion to orderly government under the guarantees embodied in the Constitution of the United States. We recognize the duty of constant vigilance to preserve at all times a clean and honest government and to bring to the bar of justice every defiler of the public service in or out of office.

Dishonesty and corruption are not political attributes. The recent Congressional investigations have exposed instances in both parties of men in public office who are

willing to sell official favors and men out of office who are willing to buy them, in some cases with money and in others with influence.

The sale of influence resulting from the holding of public position or from association while in public office or the use of such influence for private gain or advantage is a perversion of public trust and prejudicial to good government. It should be condemned by public opinion and forbidden by law.

We demand the speedy, fearless and impartial prosecution of all wrongdoers, without regard for political affiliation or position, but we declare no greater wrong can be committed against the people than the attempt to destroy their trust in the great body of their public servants. Admitting the deep humiliation which all good citizens share, that our public life should have harbored some dishonest men, we assert that these undesirables do not represent the standard of our national integrity.

The Government at Washington is served to-day by thousands of earnest, conscientious and faithful officials and employees in every department. It is a grave wrong against these patriotic men and women to strive indiscriminately to besmirch the names of the innocent and undermine the confidence of the people in the government under which they live. It is even a graver wrong when this is done for partisan purposes or for selfish exploitation.

The Republican Administration has already taken charge of the prosecution of official dereliction, and it will continue the work of discovering and punishing; but it will not confuse the innocent with the guilty, nor prostitute for party advantage the enforcement of the law.

LAW AND ORDER

We must have respect for law. We must have observ-

ance of law. We must have enforcement of law. The very existence of the Government depends upon this. The substitution of private will for public law is only another name for oppression, disorder, anarchy and the mob rule.

Every government depends upon the loyalty and respect of its citizens. Violations of the law weaken and threaten government itself. No honest government can condone such actions on the part of its citizens. The Republican party pledges the full strength of the Government for the maintenance of these principles by the enforcement of the Constitution and of all laws.

WOMEN DELEGATES

We extend our greeting to the women delegates, who, for the first time under Federal authorization, sit with us in full equality. The Republican party from the beginning has espoused the cause of woman suffrage, and the presence of these women delegates signifies to many here the completion of a task undertaken years ago. We welcome them not as assistants or as auxiliary representatives, but as copartners in the great political work in which we are engaged, and we believe that the actual partnership in party councils should be made more complete.

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE

The Republican party reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained.

PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

With us, parties are essential instrumentalities of government. Our Government functions best when the Chief Executive is supported by a majority in the Congress of the same political faith, united by party principles and

able by concerted action to carry out in an orderly way a definite, consistent and well-balanced program. In urging the people to elect a Republican President and Vice-President we urge them to elect to the Senate and House of Representatives men and women who believe in the Republican principles, acknowledge party responsibility and who can be relied on to keep faith with the people by carrying out the program which the Republican party presents and pledges itself to fulfill.

THE REPUBLICAN KEYNOTE SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN THEODORE E. BURTON

Chairman Adams, ladies and gentlemen: I greet this vast throng, gallery above gallery. I speak for the citizens of Cleveland, irrespective of party affiliations, when I bid you a cordial welcome. The people of this city wish you Godspeed. They rejoice to receive you in their midst. They hope for success in your deliberations and for your pleasure and benefit while you stay. We are in the bustle and the rush, the dust and the smoke of a busy industrial community, but the pure air of heaven is around and above us and a friendly spirit is everywhere.

It is appropriate that a Republican national convention should assemble in Ohio. (Applause.) Of the eleven of our party who have held the great office of President, seven have been natives of this Buckeye commonwealth and five were elected from our state. You will recall the names of Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, McKinley, Taft and Harding. There is a special appropriateness in meeting in this city, for in this lesser area in which all roads lead to Cleveland there are memorials everywhere which speak for the achievements and tell of the leaders of the nation.

Not far away are the resting places of Garfield, McKinley, Hayes and Harding. There was inexpressible sadness in the death of three of these, and I hope I may be pardoned when I utter words of praise prompted by friendship. The tomb of James A. Garfield and a monument to his memory are within the city limits. He was

born on a barren farm in this county, and in rising, step by step, from lowly station to the highest executive position in the world none displayed more clearly than he the wonderful possibilities of American life. Leader in peace and war, he was the victim of the revengeful frenzy of a disappointed office seeker. What a terrible deed! If his worst enemy had contemplated such a frightful crime, he would have shrunk from it in horror and might have exclaimed after Macbeth:

"* * * Besides, this Garfield
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking off."

McKinley, too, was stricken down in his splendid prime by one whose brain was reeking with the monstrosities of anarchy. How sorrowful the death of one whose name will be forever associated with that captivating charm which compels admiration and love!

Almost equally pathetic was the death of Warren G. Harding, whose untiring labors made him a martyr to service and brought an early death quite as sad as that of the soldier who perishes with all his armor on. The exacting duties of his high office did not slacken his constant striving, though ill-health and weakness hung threatening as a sword above his head. A nation bowed in grief mourned his death; the whole world mourned him as a lover of peace and good will. If ever he made those mistakes which mortals must make, it was because of the kindness of his heart, because of a noble mind which thought no ill of friend or foe but reposed trust in everyone.

If I may imitate and enlarge upon the words of a funeral eulogy uttered by a famous orator, it may be said

of Harding that if all who have gained inspiration by listening to his eloquent words, everyone who has felt the warm grasp of his friendly hand, the many who received his sympathy in days of sorrow, were to plant a flower upon his grave, a tangled wilderness of flowers would surround his tomb; the snow-white anemone, the blue violet, blossoms of golden hue or brightest red, poppies like those from Flanders field would spread a garment of beauty all around. Rest, wearied spirit, rest in peace, secure in that lasting remembrance which belongs to the immortals.

This convention has one unique distinction which in itself will give it a most notable place in the history of party gatherings. This is the first time in a national political convention that women have taken their place as delegates under a right of suffrage vouchsafed by the Federal Constitution. More than 400 are here as delegates and alternates, giving emphasis to this radical departure. You are welcome, thrice welcome, here; welcome to the privileges and responsibilities, the triumphs and rewards, of participating in the control of this, the world's foremost democracy. In this later day when woman's sphere has been so enlarged, when social questions have assumed such importance, and the aims of government are more in terms of human welfare, the finer graces, the keen discrimination of women are needed in the body politic. I scarcely need remind you that of the thirty-six states which ratified the suffrage amendment at least three-fourths belong in the Republican column, and in the last Presidential election all but three gave majorities for Harding. And now no nonchalant or superficial regard for this new duty will suffice, whether you favored suffrage or not. This convention relies upon your activities in the coming campaign.

Let us survey briefly the record of this Republican

administration. The 4th of March, 1921, witnessed a country still suffering from the results of the colossal world struggle; there was disaster upon the land. The war with its aftermath of reckless expenditure and feverish living had given place to a dull, hopeless inactivity. Here, as abroad, were industrial depression and armies of unemployed. Indeed, five millions were seeking work and finding none. Formal peace had not been established with the nations with which we had been at war. There was a chilling record of waste which spread its blighting influence over every form of administrative service. The demands of a new America had to be met with wisdom and patriotism.

It is fair to say that so long as the Democratic party continued in power after the war America's progress on the road to rehabilitation was hardly more satisfactory than that of the European countries. But when the Republican party came in, reëstablishing nationwide confidence that its time-tried capacity for constructive policies and administration were now at the country's service, there was immediate improvement. The Democrats could not even make peace. The Republicans did.

Scarcely half a year had passed when a turn was called. Workmen in multitudes returned to the shops, peace was proclaimed, and that stability which is the strength and life of nations dwelt here in a measure not enjoyed in any other part of the earth.

We may point not only to the disappearance of unemployment, but to the great progress in the payment of our national debt. That debt, which amounted to nearly twenty-four billions on March 4, 1921, three years later had been reduced by much more than two billions.

Foremost in international affairs was the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments in the years 1921 and 1922. That conference pointed the way to stop the mad

race for naval expansion, provided a means of settlement for years to come of questions in and around the Pacific Ocean, placed the stamp of disapproval upon the submarine, the assassin of the sea, and upon the more terrible use of poisonous gas in warfare. It made the long-sought open door in China a reality, not a mere open window through which we may look on forbidden fields, but an open door through which we may enter, and gave to that most populous of all countries new grounds for hope and assurance of protection from foreign aggression. In the path that leads to peace no gathering has been more notable or more successful than that which convened in our own Washington in an atmosphere of good will and international coöperation.

I can review only briefly the beneficial legislation which has been enacted during the life of this administration, especially in its first two years.

At an early date the budget system was adopted, introducing order instead of confusion and competition in demands for public expenditure, securing economy, and providing for the balancing of expenditures and revenue. Such a system had been the earnest and unanimous desire of all students of the subject for years. A law establishing it had been passed by a Republican Congress in the last year of the preceding administration, but it met with a Presidential veto. The budget in the first year of its operation resulted in a reduction of $600,000,000 from the estimates of the spending departments. If there is any one thing which is desirable in our fiscal system, it is that we should stand firmly by the budget in the future.

A revenue bill was enacted in 1921 which lessened by over $800,000,000 per year the taxes which would have been collected under the prior law. The revenue bill just passed, though abounding in defects, very materially

diminishes the burdens of the people and partially or entirely does away with some of the more vexatious taxes.

A tariff act was passed adapted to the situation prevailing since the war and based upon the fundamental idea that our labor and our enterprise should not be handicapped by differences between foreign and domestic costs, but with no aim to promote monopoly or extortion, and with a very useful provision that in the event any rates prove to be lower or higher than they should be, the President by proclamation, on the advice of the Tariff Commission, can make necessary changes and adjustments. Contrary to the pessimistic forecasts confidently made by opponents of this measure, both exports and imports have very substantially increased since its passage. As a revenue measure it has amply justified itself, for the customs receipts in the year 1923, amounting to the unprecedented sum of $582,000,000, exceeded those from any Democratic tariff ever written by more than $200,000,000.

An act for the funding of foreign debts was passed. These debts rested upon agreements or obligations hastily drawn in the stress of war and lacking definite terms. Already England, for centuries proud of her credit, has executed bonds for $4,600,000,000, on which interest is, for the third time, to be paid to-day. Payments have also been made upon principal. Bonds for much smaller amounts have been executed by Finland and Hungary, and it is hoped that other countries will make like settlements.

Comprehensive legislation has been adopted for the veterans of the late war, coördinating a great variety of conflicting and inharmonious methods and bureaus in the Veterans' Bureau. For the soldiers of the late war who are suffering or in want and for their dependents,

we are and at all times must be ready to make provision even to the last scruple in the Treasury.

There was a restoration of peace with Germany soon after the present administration took office and the way was paved for friendly relations with the countries with which we had been at war. Our participation in the great struggle was not prompted by any hatred of the enemy peoples, but by the feeling that their rulers, in their overweening ambition, had led them astray. Against them—Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, all—we cherish no feeling of revenge, but welcome them back to the great family of nations, in the hope that after defeat and bitter loss they may enjoy the blessings of a new and better era.

We appropriated twenty millions for the starving in Russia. Our compassion for the helpless and the miserable is not restrained by differences of race or in form of government, and we are ready to succor the suffering and the destitute though living under a régime inimical to all the traditions of this Government.

We have passed and the President has approved the so-called Rogers bill, placing our diplomatic and consular service, with its rapidly increasing importance, on a higher plane and giving opportunities to others than millionaires to occupy the more important positions.

The construction of good roads has been aided and stimulated as never before, thus meeting the demand for improved conditions of communication and transit, especially with a view to the needs of the farming population. Readier means of access from community to community and from state to state have accomplished wonderful results.

Two immigration acts have been passed. While we recognize invaluable benefits to our country from the infusion of immigrants from other lands who have added variety and strength to our national life, we have come

to realize that the number landing on our shores has been too large for proper assimilation. The so-called melting pot has boiled over. Therefore limitation and selection must be the order of the day.

It is to be regretted that in the passage of the recent bill the request of the President for time for further negotiation with Japan was refused. For that great nation, with which our relations with rare exceptions have been so friendly, we have no feelings but those of admiration and respect. The adoption of policies for the exclusion of Japanese immigrants by no means implies any claim of their inferiority, but rests upon essential differences, notably in standards of living, which render them uncongenial to our industrial life. It is our fervent hope that this reason may be understood, and that these two nations on either side of the Pacific may banish all causes of friction or misunderstanding and permanently cherish sentiments of friendship and of peace.

The condition of agriculture is to-day one of our most perplexing problems. This basic industry, with its broad expanse of homes scattered over the farms of the land, has furnished a chief reliance in peace and war, for it gives us a stalwart population always ready to respond to the needs of the country, with its tens of millions who adhere to the best traditions of the nation, now and from its very beginnings. We deplore the depression which rests upon various branches of production.

The present situation pertains to certain staples and is characterized by overproduction in very essential articles of food, by lack of effective demand from abroad for our surplus, and by disadvantages arising from keen competition from outlying portions of the world. With a sincere desire to render assistance, legislation was adopted in the Sixty-seventh Congress in generous meas-

ure. That great Democratic leader, Mr. Bryan, though naturally denying credit to any political party, has stated that the Sixty-seventh Congress accomplished more for the farmer than any Congress for fifty years. There was an act passed for continuance of the War Finance Corporation, and nearly three hundred millions were advanced to farming communities; an emergency tariff act on leading grain and other products was adopted; legislation was enacted in a so-called packers' bill to protect the rights of the stock raiser, also a law limiting dealings in grain futures to prevent the farmer from being the victim of manipulation; twenty-five additional millions were advanced for the Federal Farm Loan Board; an agricultural credit act was passed at the end of the Sixty-seventh Congress, providing for both public and private agencies to aid the farmer in securing credit, stressing perhaps too much the need of facilities for borrowing, but still far-reaching in its provisions. A coöperative marketing act was passed, a beginning in the furtherance of methods for organization and distribution which, it is hoped, will place the farmer in the enjoyment of the same advantages in narrowing the gap between the producer and the consumer as those enjoyed in other branches of endeavor. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that in this direction there surely lies the most encouraging prospect for bettering the condition of the agricultural interests of the country. A private corporation with ten millions of capital was organized at the instance of the Administration and has rendered substantial aid to the farmers of the Northwest.

The Republican party has shown its willingness to extend liberality to the last degree in the enactment of legislation which will aid the farmer, but it cannot respond to impracticable theories or accept measures which will only aggravate the situation. Any artificial stimulus

to prices which are depressed by irresistible causes can only postpone the evil day and add to the distress. Inexorable laws demand decreased acreage in certain staple products and a wider diversification. Numerous remedies proposed for relief fail utterly when subjected to careful analysis. For more than thirty days I have been constantly seeking by interviews and otherwise some method which would solve the situation. Nothing which promises a solution has been proposed, but I trust some remedy may yet be found. If I were to follow the appealing demands of my own feelings, I would say grant tens of millions for farm relief, but no legislation or subventions from the Treasury can be effective to meet the case. It is a condition which is world-wide, due to the sharp reaction from the unprecedented demands for agricultural products which lasted during the World War and for a time thereafter. Prices are now out of line with those of many of the commodities which the farmer must buy, but so sure as the inevitable laws of supply and demand are operative this relation must change, and the time is coming when conditions will be reversed and the course of migration between city and farm will experience a revolution.

A most substantial benefit would be conferred upon the farmers by the construction of the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence waterway, thereby opening up a new transportation outlet for the agricultural products of a very extended area. Material benefit would also be gained by the more adequate improvement and utilization of diverse interior waterways, though here, as elsewhere, these improvements should be carefully limited to such as are capable of profitable development. Now, as always, pork-barrel appropriations should be sedulously avoided.

A readjustment of freight rates and a consolidation

of existing agencies of transportation afford promise of aid.

President Harding and his advisers labored incessantly for the abolition of long hours and the seven-day week in the steel industry and other trades. He called industrial and labor leaders into conference. Almost on the very day of his death his efforts were crowned with success, and happy, indeed, would he have been if he could have witnessed the complete accomplishment of his hopes.

Labor has been especially benefited by the restrictive immigration law. This Republican administration brought the country out of the depths of depression. The great mass of employees find their chiefest benefit in steady employment and those prosperous times which make high wages possible.

Congress has voted to submit a constitutional amendment giving adequate authority to legislate against the employment of child labor. A bill for the continuance of plans for the rehabilitation of workers disabled in industry, an effort which has met with very great success, has recently passed the House of Representatives. It has also a few days ago passed the Senate and been approved by the President. The well-being of labor, the happiness of millions of workers are inextricably interwoven with the prosperity of the people; no separate or antagonistic road can be traversed by those who toil or by those who employ; the country's prosperity is the prosperity of each and of all.

Among the pending issues of the day economy in public expenditures and reduction of taxation must assume the utmost importance. The Federal Government, states and communities have been engaging in a riot of lavish expenditures, attended by mounting indebtedness. The burden of increased taxation must shackle enterprise and diminish employment. It adds almost crushing weight

to the cost of living and closes the doors of opportunity. Excessive public expenditures create a fatal example, stimulating prodigality and waste among all the people in every form of activity. Public economy promotes individual initiative and prevents that reliance upon paternalistic government which weakens the morale of any people and brings with it the depressing rule of bureaucracy.

As an illustration of present conditions, the per capita expenses of the United States Government in the fiscal year of 1910 were $7.74; in 1919, the year of the peak of expenses, they were $173.54; and for the last year they were $33.44, more than fourfold those of 1910. So phenomenal an increase must arouse the attention of every patriotic citizen. It is not at all probable that any rates will be increased or new taxes imposed, but the recent revenue law is not the last word.

To secure these most desirable objects of economy an active campaign of education must be conducted similar to that in the free-silver contest of 1896. Let this subject be brought home to the people. There are certain persistent fallacies which must be dispelled. One of them results in thoughtlessness or indifference to the evils of swollen taxation. Another is that the final burden of public levies rests upon those who first make payments to the tax collector. On the contrary, the general tendency of all taxation is to diffuse itself upon all consumers whether taxpayers or not with considerable additions as the burden is passed along. Still another fallacy is a prevalent opinion that excessive surtaxes are desirable and result in larger revenue. That excessive rates are not helpful under ordinary circumstances can readily be demonstrated, but this is startlingly true so long as investments in tax-exempt securities are possible. As a proof of the futility of these high rates, it is to be noted

that in 1916, when the total surtaxes were $121,900,000 and the highest rate 13 per cent, $81,400,000 of these taxes were collected from incomes in excess of $300,000; but in 1921, when surtax collections were $411,300,000, over three times as great, under a maximum rate of 65 per cent, the collections from incomes of $300,000 and over were only about $3,000,000 more than in 1916, or $84,700,000. No one here will advocate a system which would relieve wealth from paying its proper share, but careful thinking will show the absurdity of the present rates, entirely justifiable in time of war but not in time of peace.

The demagogue may say to the unthinking, "See how we are taxing the rich"; and then in a soft aside say to the great capitalist, "How excellent an avenue of escape we are providing for you!" The indirect effect of high surtaxes in withholding funds from such investments as would quicken industrial expansion is even more serious than the diminishing revenue. Present problems of revenue and expenditure are so commanding in importance as to call into action the highest sentiments of patriotism, for economy in expenditures and a rational fiscal system are alike essential for the prosperity and for the happiness of the people.

The Federal Reserve System, which serves as a bulwark in the financial life of the nation and was so helpful during the war, should be left alone. It should be free from the touch of the political spoilsman, and all its operations should be managed for the accomplishment of the excellent purposes for which it was intended.

The Republican party stands now as always firmly for law enforcement. Laws are not to be observed merely by those who favored their enactment, but by everyone of this broad land. Disregard of existing enactments breeds disrespect and disorder and even tends to anarchy.

Furthermore, hasty changes in existing laws or regulations cannot be approved. If that were the case, all our policies would be like the shifting sands of the sea, which are scattered by wind and wave.

The frightful crimes of lynch law have shown some decrease in recent years, but it is for us to make every effort to remove this disgraceful blot upon our civilization.

There is absolute necessity for an intelligent policy of conservation of our national resources, for the prevention of waste and of the even more dangerous evils of monopoly. Let us have no lack of vision for the future. This means a conservation of our forests, of our water power, of our minerals, of our coal and our oil, of the fish of the sea and the birds of the air. No hundred-year franchises should be given, nor should any grant be made of that which the nation should reserve for its future protection.

We have abhorred war, and never more than now. But if again that which we deplore should happen, and we should be involved in another deadly conflict, let us establish a system which will mobilize all our resources for victory. We cannot afford to allow the slacker to shirk his duty or give the profiteers an opportunity to pile up fortunes when those who stand for patriotism are suffering and dying. We must establish the great ideal that in the emergency of war every agency of industry and commerce, our man power, and the activities of men and women shall be such as to accomplish the single purpose of saving our country from danger. President Harding spoke eloquently in his inaugural address in behalf of such a plan.

We have recently witnessed the passage over the veto of the President of a so-called bonus or adjusted compensation bill, providing for paid-up insurance policies

to soldiers of the late war. While recognizing the inestimable debt which the country owes to those who fought in the bloody contest in 1917 and 1918, and with satisfaction in the thought that for insurance, for the care of the injured and the sick, and for their training and betterment we are expending an amount which in one year reached almost 450 millions of dollars, there was a substantial minority in Congress who sought to sustain the President. But the bonus act is now the law of the land. Conditions created by it must be met and its provisions must be willingly accepted.

A constitutional amendment has passed the Senate providing for the beginning of the terms of the President and of Members of Congress early in January following the November election. There is certainly an incongruity in the present interval between election and induction into office. This lengthy period was based upon conditions existing in the century before the last, when means of communication were so limited. Under the law as it now stands it would be possible for an outgoing administration, prior to the 4th of March, to prevent or very seriously impede its successor from accomplishing the purposes for which the people elected it. President McKinley advocated this change in his inaugural of 1897.

One urgent reform demanded is that the President be relieved of part of his most exacting duties. A constitution of iron can hardly bear up under the strain imposed upon the Chief Magistrate. There could be no more practical step in accomplishing this than to diminish the demands upon his time for the settlement of questions of patronage. This great framework of government was not devised for the dispensation of the flesh pots of office. The mighty problems of a nation in its foreign and domestic affairs, the decision of which must bring

weal or woe to tens of millions, are enough to absorb the attention of any statesman.

Nor is the distracting influence of patronage confined to the executive department alone. Legislators, whose time could be more profitably employed in the making of laws and establishing policies for the nation, lose much of their time and subject themselves to constant irritation from the same source. An extension of the merit system is urgently needed and this is especially true in view of the enormous increase of Federal employees.

In the relation of the economic activities of the people to their government three methods are possible.

1. The old and now discarded theory of giving to private initiative free and untrammeled play, laissez faire as it is called.

2. The control and management of a central government with all the incidents of public ownership and operation. To this there must be a fatal objection, for it would threaten the rule of bureaucracy with its deadening influence and interference in every home, and the destruction of that personal initiative which, with restless energy, has unchained the wheels of progress and given our country its foremost position.

3. A third and more rational course presents itself in sane regulation, based upon wise legislation and administration, repressing the power of great corporations or combinations of any type, which else might threaten to overshadow the state itself, and with equal care guarding against the evils of unrestrained competition.

Let us secure for every individual the greatest possible equality of opportunity and leave to the states and minor political divisions a broad field of activity in their proper sphere. Thus we shall avoid an unwieldy central government in constant danger of toppling over. We shall prevent state boundaries from becoming mere vanishing

traces on the map, and avoid the dangers of disaster which have beset many nations smaller and with problems less complex than our own.

If I may speak in language somewhat academic, let me say to you that in every era conditions and facts of surpassing importance must be recognized which stand out like headlands in the landscape. To-day the most important conditions are those created by the war or emphasized by it. That terrible convulsion left the world disjointed in all its activities—social, political and economic. War always has a brutalizing effect, and this great struggle, along with a most splendid exhibition of heroism, brought into play sordid motives and ambitions, the demoralization from which has cast shadows which will rest on the world for years to come. Again we are in the midst of an unparalleled material development which, beneficial as it is, threatens a lowering of moral and spiritual standards, the true grandeur of nations. This is an age of whirlwind speed, of luxury, and the pursuit of pleasure. New inventions and fresh diversions chain attention every hour. In an atmosphere of excitement and hurry there is danger of a lack of clearness of vision and fairness in judgment on most important issues of the day. Indifference in the performance of public duties rests like a blight upon the body politic. In nothing is the effect of existing conditions more manifest than in disregard of the political obligations of the citizen. The proportion of electors who take an active interest, especially in preliminary contests, was never so small. When such indifference exists unwholesome forces poison our public life. A well-organized minority is often more powerful than that inert mass of citizens whose patriotism is only aroused in times of grave emergency. To these causes are traceable the formation of blocs and the vehement assertion of individual or sectional interests.

Swarms of lobbyists infest every capital seeking the promotion of some special interest with callous disregard of that paramount benefit, the general welfare. Not merely by veiled threats, but with brutal demands, they threaten candidates and political parties with defeat unless their wishes are complied with. These demands are so persistent that refusal arouses opposition against the administration or party in power, so that now the strongest force in political contests is the reaction against those who have responsibility in shaping governmental policies, though the "outs," or those in opposition, would be compelled to take the same unyielding stand if they were intrusted with authority. It is easier to criticize than to construct; far easier to promise than to perform. The propagandist is everywhere—would that their numbers might diminish—and so partisan is he that arguments favorable to his cause are eagerly accepted as heaven-born injunctions, while opposing arguments are treated as emanations from the depraved. Under the cloak of patriotism irrational agitation based upon hypocrisy or ignorance sometimes displaces reason and truth. Translated into terms of taxation, it may be said:

> "Oh, that there might 'mongst
> Propagandists be
> A duty on hypocrisy,
> A tax on humbug,
> An impost on dreary platitudes,
> A stamp athwart the mouth
> Of everyone that ranted."

Never more than now have there been such insistent demands for special advantages, privileges of every nature, bonuses, pensions, increased salaries—some of which are well deserved—new bureaus with troops of officials, and relief measures, as they are called. All these are

based upon the erroneous idea that our Government is a paternalistic institution doling out favors without stint to all comers who can muster votes. The tendency is to impose burdens too heavy to bear upon the ordinary citizen, "the forgotten man," who, toiling quietly at home, seeks no favors, but only asks the friendly protection of a government which is just and fair. If this tendency is not checked, we shall become a people abounding in preferred classes, the burden of whose privileges must rest with crushing weight upon the great body of our citizenship. It is necessary for us to meet this present situation with a clarion call to all to think more of duties and less of rights and privileges, more of duties to the state and to humanity.

Speaking for all good and thoughtful citizens of every political creed, I must enter a solemn protest against the impression, recently created, that there is widespread corruption in the Government at Washington. It is true that out of all the investigations, pursued in every direction, there have been exposed to the scorn of the country instances of bribery and dishonesty on the part of public officials, and of cupidity and over-reaching on the part of those who are ready to use their opportunities to debauch those in office. It is true that the whole world was shell-shocked by the war and has not yet recovered its equilibrium; that the effect of this great conflict, with its convulsions and changes, its untried and stupendous problems, has temporarily weakened the moral fiber of humanity and diminished here and there that high regard for the dictates of loyalty and honesty in public and private station which has ever been the ideal of the nation. Violent changes have brought to light unworthy motives and a grasping avarice. But the heart of the American people is sound, and the gross influences that accompany and follow every war will pass away. Our highest

duty in the midst of all these rumors of iniquity is to punish the guilty, but at the same time condemn exaggeration and protect the innocent. It is an infamous crime to seek to destroy the confidence of the American people in the Government under which they live. There is no criminal whom any investigation could expose who is more false to decency and honor than the man who would besmirch the names of honest citizens or distort the truth for partisan advantage or personal exploitation. It is a most grievous wrong to broadcast to the nation and to the world the mouthings of criminals and slanderers who would seek to scatter the slime of their own imaginations and hatreds. Among the thousands of public servants in Washington, in legislative halls, in administrative positions, in all the complicated machinery of the Government, it was never true, and it is not true to-day, that there is any considerable number recreant to their trust. The vast majority of public officials, from the highest in the land to the humblest clerk in any department, are working honestly and faithfully for the public good. It is time to call a halt upon indiscriminate scandal-mongering, which is largely designed to insult the intelligence and undermine the patriotism of the American people. But let us not be misunderstood. This is no reflection upon any investigator who in good faith is seeking to expose crime or any other dereliction among public servants. The guilty individual, whether he be high or low, Democrat or Republican, must suffer the severest punishment. Upon this proposition the Republican party stands firm as a rock. Yet let it be known that guilt knows no party. Those who seek to bring malign influences upon public servants make no political distinction, either in the officials whom they approach or in the lawyers whom they hire.

Let us not take a pessimistic view of this situation.

From an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust and from manifestations of dishonesty we may confidently believe that the country is emerging, and we may be sure that it will yet respond to those nobler instincts to which Lincoln appealed and to the causes to which the patriotic and the good must always repair.

I would that from the standpoint of experience I could say as much for the courage of all public men as for their honesty. There is no lack of wisdom, of patriotism, or of desire to serve the people; but courage to stand up against hasty conclusions and currents of superficial public opinion is often absent. The public fancy is sometimes caught by those who are most vociferous and at the same time most radically wrong. There are too many that listen to these voices and try the impossible contortion of keeping both ears to the ground and listening to notes to which their ears should be deaf. What is most needed in legislative halls and elsewhere is courage to withstand the sudden spasms which are created by groundless rumor or injudicious agitation. Candidates for office often fail to realize how much the people respect courage and common honesty.

A tendency toward third-party movements is manifest wherever parliamentary government exists. This has been true in most of the countries of continental Europe for years. The effect is inevitably demoralizing, involving failure in constructive policies and oftentimes control by a minority or a combination of minorities. The whole theory of orderly and effective parliamentary government demands that the people divide into two parties on outstanding questions of supreme importance, thus forming political organizations based upon certain fundamental principles, while minor considerations are relegated to a secondary position. If we should tread the path which so many other countries have trod with dis-

astrous results, inefficiency and confusion would be the outcome and there would be an expression, not of the majority will, but of the will of groups and of sections.

The word "Republican" is not a mere name; it is not a label which anyone can wear. It is not a cloak for individual vagaries. The strength and usefulness of the Republican party must depend on the maintenance of enduring principles in the advocacy of which triumph can only be secured by party solidarity and an organization whose members unite in closed formation to do battle to every foe.

Most of the blame which is visited upon Republicans in the present Congress is not deserved, because on many major questions their party has not commanded a majority in either branch. Let us not for a minute forget the importance of a Republican majority in the next Congress, made up of members tried and true, who will stand united.

With some disappointment as one whose public service has been in a legislative position, truth compels me to say that by far the greater share of our citizenship looks to President Coolidge rather than to Congress for leadership.

The people—and all the people—have confidence in Calvin Coolidge. It is a time when there is a hunger for simple, robust virtues, for a leadership which shall be based on no cheap or selfish motives. Others may have lost their nerve; he has not lost his. In the great array of rulers, kings and prime ministers intrusted with power, there is none who can surpass him in honesty of purpose, in courage, or in high devotion to the welfare of his country.

As a candidate for the Presidency, and this in the midst of temptations stronger than those by which the angels fell, he has shown no truckling, no scheming for votes,

but has gone calmly and steadily on his way unaffected by the lure of expediency or the promise of success. He shows no favoritism for any class, no subserviency to any bloc, but supreme regard for the concerns of the nation. This is his platform, and let it be the platform of the Republican party.

The mountains of Vermont with their green summits encircled his early boyhood and gave direction to that stalwart character of which there have been so many illustrations in the rural life of America. In every station to which he has been called it may be said of him that—

Wearing the white flower of a blameless life,
Before a thousand peering littlenesses, and
In that fierce light which beats upon all
In high position and blackens every blot,
He has performed every duty and merited no reproach.

Our foreign relations are assuming an importance never known before. Whatever happens at remotest points, Tokyo, Turkey, or Africa, is of keenest interest to the people of the United States. We are by no means lacking in interest in what is happening in the rest of the world, nor are we unwilling to coöperate in the most friendly way with less fortunate nations. It was our conception that American experts in finance and economics, neutral in spirit but keenly interested in aiding other countries, should join in a non-political conference for the settlement of the troublesome problem of reparations, a settlement which would promote the cause of peace and lead to sounder financial conditions and better trade relations in Europe. It was at the suggestion of our own Secretary of State and of President Coolidge that the Dawes Commission was convened. We await the result with earnest hope that the clash of conflicting

interests may cease and that the spirit of repulsion and revenge may be abated. What would happen in case of failure we dread to contemplate. Whenever the various nations can agree, whenever they are willing to look to the future rather than to the past, America's aid will be given without stint and our boundless resources will be available in the way of loans for their rehabilitation and development.

But the beginnings of peace must be in Europe itself. No nation of the New World can solve the problems of the Old. It is necessary that a calmer spirit prevail, that peace and not power be the goal, and that coöperation, based on the consciousness of common interests akin to that which exists among the forty-eight states of the American Union, should be recognized as essential. Unfortunately that which seems to be most desired in the settlement of discordant claims in Europe is not an impartial friend such as we would be, but a partisan ally.

It is to be regretted that the Treaty of Versailles was framed at a time when the very natural desire for punishment was still a dominating thought in the minds of the Allies. Imperialistic ambitions were clearly in evidence. Long-standing animosities, intensified by the horrors of war, had not been stilled.

Although the covenant of the League of Nations was made a part of this treaty, nevertheless at the very outset the organization was handicapped and its prospective usefulness most seriously impaired. An instrument designed to secure peace should never have been made a part of a treaty bristling all over with provisions for punishment and for the dominance of the victors. Two objects so inconsistent cannot stand together. It is partly for this reason that developments since the treaty was signed have not been favorable to the effectiveness or usefulness of the League in larger matters. It has not

been able to settle any of the great questions. Plans for the abatement of military expenditure and for reduction of armies have failed. Smaller nations have not been treated on terms of equality. It was well said by General Smuts, one of the leading proponents of the covenant, that over some provisions of the treaty the sponge of oblivion might well be drawn.

We have refused to join the League of Nations, and this is in full accord with the wishes of the vast majority of the American people, as I believe. As one, however, who favored our entrance into that organization with proper reservations, I may speak of it dispassionately. A meeting of the representatives of various nations around a table for the adjustment of differences and securing a common viewpoint is a splendid conception. We welcome whatever of good may be accomplished by the League, and we recognize that in humanitarian and non-political matters it has accomplished beneficent results. In some of these activities we have taken part, and will no doubt in the future. But this does not mean that we should assume membership. We are still confronted with the fact that Europe has a system of offensive and defensive alliances which is entirely alien to our most cherished policies. Our traditions and our hopes are widely different. We cannot relinquish that independence which is the natural result of our detached position. So long as the League remains a political body, inevitably dominated by the larger nations of Europe, poisoned with the tradition of age-long animosities, membership is not for us.

I think, however, I speak the sentiment of the people in saying that we are ready to join in any conference the aim of which is to limit armaments or banish wars. We are, indeed, the friends of all. We covet none of their territory and harbor no jealousies of their progress. The

Conference for Limitation of Armaments at Washington was more successful than any attempt in this direction for many years, because it was far removed from the rivalries of Europe, because its aims were clear-cut, definite, and generous. When the time is ripe, President Coolidge has promised that another conference shall be called to meet at Washington. But with the question of reparations still unsettled, with bitter animosities between the victors and the vanquished in Europe still alive and burning, we can have little hope that our intervention, still less our membership in the League, would aid. We cannot enter a conference in which the main request will be to release the obligations of foreign countries to us in the way of debts contracted; for if I can judge correctly of the sentiment of the American people, they are opposed to a release of these obligations. Our hopes are that the recommendations of the Dawes Commission will be accepted and that there will be a profound reaction in Europe against the enmity and strife which have survived since the peace. In a conference called when these objects have been accomplished, may we not trust that with America's leadership there will be a more settled world, an abiding desire to secure the peaceable adjustment of disputes between nations and to introduce a better order in which international law and mutual coöperation will everywhere prevail?

I wish to call attention to a treaty to which but little publicity has been given. What can be accomplished where long-standing animosities and recollections of a bitter past do not occupy the center of the picture is well illustrated by the part played by this Administration in the framing of a treaty in which sixteen nations of the New World have joined, each promising all the rest that the sword shall not be taken up until after commissions of inquiry have been chosen and full oppor-

tunity given to adjust their controversies without collision or the threat of war. This was a more forward step than any ever yet taken in securing peace in the Western Hemisphere. The New World, in its peaceful attitude and promise of permanent good will, is a shining example for the Old.

Let me earnestly recommend participation in the World Court now functioning at The Hague. The League of Nations is political, and the action of the representatives of the respective members must be taken according to directions from the chancelleries at home. The Court, on the other hand, is judicial, and the august judges receive dictation from no one. Our attention should be called to the fact that this Court is essentially an American idea and, more than that, a Republican idea. Our own Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith," nearly one hundred years ago argued for it on both sides of the Atlantic. A more substantial step was taken when Secretary Hay, in giving instructions to our delegates to The Hague Conference in 1899, set forth in the strongest language the far-reaching benefits of such a tribunal and directed our representatives to advocate it before that body. In 1907 Secretary Root again gave instructions to our delegates to support the proposition. Such a court was specifically indorsed in the Republican platforms of 1912 and 1916 and at least impliedly in others. Both Presidents Roosevelt and Taft advocated it. The late President Harding, on the stump in 1920, stated his unqualified indorsement of the Court. The plan for adherence to a tribunal now functioning and rendering most satisfactory decisions is one which must have the strongest possible appeal for us. It will not cure all conditions in the world, but is a long step in the right direction. It promises that ultimately disputes between nations will be settled in the same way as the settlement of disputes

between individuals was attained after long years of struggle and dispute. It must be remembered, also, that fifty-four nations are members of the League and that most of them have adhered to the separate protocol for the Court. It is not for us to assert that the League is a wicked institution, and in any case the provisions set forth in the protocol for the Court itself remove it from any domination on the part of that body. The reservations which were made a condition of joining the Court by President Harding and Secretary Hughes, whose action has since been approved by President Coolidge, make it certain that our adherence will not involve us in the League. These are sufficient safeguards and reservations to protect our own interests, and they do not affect the great purposes of the Court. The Republican party, in accord with its expressed policy, should make every effort promptly to establish our membership in this great tribunal.

Other issues which I have omitted might well be touched on, but the time would fail me. The strength and grandeur of our country in the future can only be attained and our mission in the world can only be fulfilled by constructive accomplishments which will meet the demands of an era in which new problems are crowding upon us with maddening rapidity.

In international affairs let us remember that a chastened world cannot be lifted out of the depths of suffering and sorrow by the selfish insistence of any nation upon the acceptance of a maximum of its claims. That conception was banished from the earth when ambitious monarchs desiring absolute sway were driven from their thrones. Some ambitions must be relinquished to secure the larger benefits of international coöperation. A spirit of concession and of regard for every people, great or small, near or remote, must dictate the policies

of statesmen everywhere. If this is a new rule in foreign affairs, let America proclaim it.

In our domestic concerns let it be known that the people take stock of individual conduct as never before. Admiration no longer rests so much upon the triumph of success and power as upon devoted service to country and humanity.

For the glad accomplishment of these most noble aims at home and abroad the nation looks to the Republican party.

Just seventy years ago this was a small but gallant band, actuated by the highest ideals; then, in 1856, a multitude, defeated but alive and undaunted. Next, a mighty conquering host, which through a long tract of years shaped and guided the destinies of this republic, leading it always to new heights of greatness and renown. What shining pages of history were written when Abraham Lincoln grasped the helm of state in 1861!

History has recorded no party organization whose achievements can compare with ours. In its triumphant course it has stood unshaken for the Union and the Constitution. It removed the curse of slavery, resisted repudiation and powerful currents of opinion which threatened folly in our economic life, and has upheld the rights of all, however humble. In every emergency, in days that were dark as well as those that were bright, it has been a party of broad vision, full of hope and of faith.

The past at least is secure. In the future there is no lamp to guide so safe as that of experience and history, and the people will surely repose their trust in those principles and in that party organization which has played so preëminent a part in the upbuilding of the nation and in the prosperity and happiness of all its citizens. Thus we may be confident that when the ballots are cast in November in numbers like the falling

leaves of autumn this people will elect Calvin Coolidge with a Republican Congress and again crown our efforts with victory, thereby assuring a yet more splendid future of progress and of peace.

NOMINATING SPEECH FOR CALVIN COOLIDGE

BY DR. MARION L. BURTON OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Republicans and Fellow Citizens of America, the greatest country the world has ever known:

This hour is fraught with solemn obligations. Not a single member of this convention can escape that fact. A great party, with a noble heritage, with wise leaders, and with responsibility for the Government to-day, has convened to nominate a candidate for the Presidency of the United States of America. No higher office exists among men. For a time, and by consent of the people, it places marvelous forces at the disposal of one man. America to-day occupies a unique position of leadership in the world. Her financial strength is unequalled; her agricultural and manufacturing activities are enormous; her educational, religious and philanthropic institutions and agencies are maintaining with vigor the cultural, scientific and spiritual values of the nation. In nominating this man to succeed himself you are virtually choosing the next President. Such a task cannot be undertaken lightly.

I shall speak as one who for years has known the President. I follow this plan because I believe you want to hear from one who has a first-hand knowledge of his subject. The people have an insatiable desire to learn about the life and ways of this man. The better you know him the more you will trust him. The more carefully you study his written words the more certain you

will become of the clarity of his mind, the depth of his thought, and the soundness of his judgment. There is no real statesmanship without these qualities. My function is to present the man. The emphasis must be just there. My primary task does not concern policies or platforms as such. These must, of course, serve as highly important illustrative material, but I am asked to tell you why I believe the President should succeed himself and formally to place his name in nomination.

I. THE MAN

In these days of worthy emphasis upon social obligations and public-mindedness it is easy to overlook the full meaning of the individual. Many powerful forces are now operative in America which make for the disintegration of personality and a consequent failure always to realize that back of every great movement is a man. There can be no citizenship without the citizen, and no virtue without the virtuous. Every cause is identified with a person. Just so to-day the Republican party has its wise leader, tried through many years of faithful and striking public service. His preparation for the high office he now holds has been adequate and ideal.

To describe him in spoken or written word is quite impossible. Personality defies the rigid barriers of speech. To know any man you must see him. To know this man you must spend time with him. As he himself said of Lincoln: "The great men of all times baffle all analysis and all description."

One thing we can say. He illustrates the paradox of greatness. A paradox is something which is "apparently absurd yet true." Anyone will tell you he is "one of us," and he is. In keeping with his real qualities I shall make no effort to exalt him for he does not need it. It would be grossly inartistic and inconsistent. He is not a super-

man and would be the last to think so. There is not a trace of show or ostentation about him for he does nothing merely for appearance. He may be an example, but he would never set one. His quiet, unobtrusive and natural way of doing things was beautifully and graciously illustrated during the sad days of last August when he assumed the duties of the Presidency. He personifies the plain, simple virtues of our citizens at their best.

Yet this is not all. If it be said that he is rarely common it must also be known that he is nobly uncommon. A great man is always simple and direct. About this man there is something elemental. He "can see into the heart of things." He knows that every person has a soul and that the greatest thing about America is her spirit. He never lacks dignity. The office he occupies is exalted for when he performs a public duty it is a ceremony.

He has moral fiber. To me, it is his most distinguishing characteristic. There is a moral grandeur about him which does credit to American life. You simply cannot think of him as soft or flabby. He aims actually to do what he knows he ought to do. There is a rigor and vigor in his life which suggests sternness and discipline. He helps one to understand that righteousness has an actual place in the world. Knowing him, you see at once why he believes that the American spirit is "the supreme moral power of the world." With him there is no compromise. "There is no substitute for virtue." When he knows what is right he follows it with resistless logic and persistent endeavor. He seems the epitome of sheer self-control. His achievements in this respect are worthy of the highest emulation by the present generation of Americans. From his youth up he learned that self-restraint is a necessity for useful living as well as for civilization. His father tells an incident which throws

a flood of light upon his early training. It was the boy's duty each day to provide an ample supply of firewood for the kitchen stove. On one occasion, in the middle of the night, his father found the son at this task because he had failed to provide the wood for the coming morning. Stern duty was on his conscience. He early learned that obedience is essential in a well-ordered group. He is severe with every form of selfishness and evil. They exist to be conquered. To him character is the first necessity. He welcomes prosperity provided we transmute our wealth into social progress. All our national power and grandeur, all our physical wealth, all of our guarantees of life and liberty will be of real avail just in proportion as individual citizens develop sterling, dependable character. "There can be no national greatness which does not rest upon the personal integrity of the people." Such a man, regardless of the consequences to himself, will do the right. He can be trusted.

Frugality is a part of his being. He inherited it from the background out of which he came. His method of living, always comfortable and in good taste, is a stinging rebuke to current luxury and extravagance. As Vice-President, he did not welcome the idea of maintaining a large establishment. His natural tendency is to be rid of unnecessary things. He has no instinct for cluttering life with mere stuff. He is like the soldier equipped for a forced march. "About him there was never any needless thing. No useless burdens held him back." Frugality to him is no mere negative approach to life. He actually believes that "civilization rests on conservation." To him waste is a vicious betrayal of our country, while thrift is the constructive force which assures a stronger future. He seems to personify this philosophy. Every moment of time, without hurry or confusion, is wisely employed. His mind has a chance to work

because his tongue gives it an opportunity. He is marked by fecundity of ideas and frugality of idioms, by prodigality of thought and economy of expression. This picture makes a consistent whole. It all eventuates in an insistent policy of economy in government expenditures. He believes there is urgent necessity the world over for actual retrenchment in the use of public funds. His insistence upon tax reduction and tax reform illustrates emphatically the practical application of his sense of thrift.

To him, life is work. He grew up with the idea that hard work is the normal and desirable lot of everyone. This idea runs back into the earliest origins of our history. John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrims in Holland, said that "the people are industrious and frugal." These ideas were a part of the very marrow of his ancestors. It was only natural for him to direct the Senate of Massachusetts to "do the day's work." Theodore Roosevelt placed a stirring emphasis upon the "strenuous life." His generation adopted the idea in an almost self-conscious way. This man simply assumed it. It would never occur to him that work was an incident in life or a mere corollary to its main theories. It is an ingrained part of his being. He admires Ulysses S. Grant because "he worked. He made progress." This conception of life is intimately interwoven with his ideas of government and society. Freedom demands work because it is not a gift, but an achievement. He insists that "there is no substitute for militant freedom." He regrets that we Americans think we can take our blessings of free government and our heritage of noble traditions and enjoy them without realizing that eternal vigilance is necessary. "Independence is exceedingly exacting, self-control is arduous, self-government is difficult." We must all pay the price of freedom. Liberty

and leisure are mutually exclusive just as work and life are synonymous. When we all learn to work in peace as we did in war our country's evils will diminish and our confidence in its ideals will deepen. Thus he thinks and acts. He is the personification of work.

In the largest sense of the term, he is a patient man. He knows that time will do its perfect work. He does not judge conditions or civilizations or governments in terms of a day, a month or a year. He instinctively takes the long look. He knows thoroughly the history of our country and understands with keen insight the principles which we represent. He calmly writes that "the great forces of other centuries converged in America. They are working out a new destiny here. It is not for us to view them with too much impatience." This philosophy of progress and history is no mere intellectual conclusion. In his presence you feel it as a living reality. He makes a calm, unhurried, steady approach to the tasks of life. No one can throw him into a panic for he sees life steadily and sees it whole. Perhaps this helps one to understand one of his most appealing qualities. Any man in the turmoil of practical politics must deal with many conflicting forces. He cannot please everyone. Therefore some, for the time, become hostile and critical. This condition is inevitable in the life of any administrator. This man, in a very remarkable way, takes his punishment quietly and silently. At times he must oppose what appears to some as an unqualified good because he recognizes its temporary benefits and sees in the distant future that it must work an evil to society. Through all such experiences he walks with the spirit of human understanding. He knows that time will heal the hurt. His sense of time explains the thoroughness of his work and his intolerance for superficiality. He must have the facts at first hand and will not base

decisions on a partial knowledge of the situation. He will not be hurried. He avoids extremes and loves proportion. Life does not consist of detached unrelated events. It is a unity welded together by the alchemy of time. He knows how to wait and not be tired by waiting. When he acts you know he will not be impetuous because he takes time to think to the soul of things. Democracy, in her careless blundering confidence, is in dire need of such leadership.

Has he a sense of humor? Emphatically yes. It is not the type that wastes time in recounting incidents of ever-increasing triteness. There is an alertness about his mind and a nimbleness of his spirit which are very attractive. These qualities do not express themselves in just the ordinary forms. At times you might imagine he had not even heard what was being said. Then he drops a remark which makes you realize that he has taken several steps in advance and has put his finger on the real point. He is not given to hilarity. His humor is dry and delightful and its expression as a rule is just as sententious as his more serious utterances.

Beneath the characteristics we have mentioned lies something which one naturally hesitates to drag out into the light. There are some things too sacred for public parade even though a man belongs to the people. When you find a man, however, with qualities such as we have sketched, you inevitably ask for the secret. What is the dynamic back of this moral fiber, this bitter self-control, this sense of the value of things, this instinctive understanding of work, this quiet patience with the ages? *It is his sense of the spiritual.* No one can read his speeches without realizing that to him religion is essential to life. I am speaking in the broadest and most comprehensive terms. I am not discussing theology but religion. There are at least a few great fundamental spiritual realities

which are the common possession of men. He firmly believes religion to be necessary to the ideals of America. He asserts that "most of all there is need of religion. From that source alone came freedom. Nothing else touches the soul of man. Nothing else justifies faith in the people." Toleration in religion is among our most notable achievements in this country. The vital realities of religion alone can satisfy the deepest needs of the human spirit. It is reassuring to know that this man believes in a personal power greater than man; that in emergencies, with Washington and Lincoln, he will know that "the issue lies in another Hand."

His religious convictions center about a few great words—humility, sacrifice, renunciation, service. In a very commendable sense he is a humble man. He puts himself out of the center of things. He believes that "it is only in the spirit of true humility that there is any approach to the better things of life." His remarkable speech of Memorial Day this year was actually built around the idea of renunciation. To him "the law of life, the law of progress, is the law of obedience, the law of service."

This whole side of his life culminates in a striking attitude to the problem of material prosperity and its effects upon the quality of our national life. To him there is not the slightest need of regarding material and spiritual resources as conflicting elements in civilization. Some maintain that materialism is our national curse. He insists upon the possibility of a wholesome relationship between these two great factors. He recognizes that there is much current discontent but he believes it to be due largely to unworthy confidence in the things we touch and see and handle. He counsels that we examine anew "our attitude of mind toward possessions." In fact, he firmly believes that real prosperity and even

progress demand spiritual values. "Nor will real prosperity arise," he says, "by relying upon a materialism which leaves out of consideration human ideals." But this does not mean to him that there is anything inevitably incompatible between the highest standards of spiritual living and genuine business success. In short the former makes possible the latter. It would be a startling thing to the world to know that America actually stands just there. It may be well to read these challenging words of his with special attention to the order and emphasis: "There are two fundamental motives which inspire human action. The first and most important, is that of righteousness. There is that in mankind, stronger than all else, which requires them to do right. When that requirement is satisfied the next motive is that of gain." This is a new point of view for many American critics. Its soundness needs no defense.

Here then is the man. He follows "right and truth to their logical conclusions." He gathered it all up in an address he delivered a year ago at a college commencement. He said, "We do not need more material development, we need more spiritual development. We do not need more intellectual power, we need more moral power. We do not need more knowledge, we need more character. We do not need more government, we need more culture. We do not need more law, we need more religion. We do not need more of the things that are seen, we need more of the things that are unseen."

What America must learn is precisely what this man is saying so clearly and forcefully. It has a ring to it which will permeate the world. He has been successful in politics because he has been simply and unanswerably honest. The hardest thing in the world to defeat is sheer character. Some American politicians still have a great lesson to learn. The first mark of a public servant is

not solely the desire to know what the people want but the purpose to help the people want what they ought to have. It is not too much to affirm that the people of the United States have intense longings which they do not entirely understand and which by the very terms of the problem they cannot focus and express. I believe this man does comprehend these intense yearnings of the people and that quietly and persistently he is putting them forth in sharp, incisive utterances. The Boston police strike need not be rehearsed here. Its details are well known. But America will not soon forget this emphatic assertion of a conviction which is destined to live in American history. "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time." The American people believe that. It required backbone to say it. They told him it would no doubt end his public life. He simply said "Very likely" and proceeded to do his duty as he understood it. Such is the man. He breeds confidence. There is here the solid basis on which you can build a public career of the highest quality. America needs this man in this hour, and the world needs America.

II. THE AMERICAN

With this partial understanding of the individual we are prepared to learn that this man in the most thrilling sense of the term is an American. He has been "thinking America, believing America and living America."

The place he gives to intelligence is genuinely American. He is saturated with confidence in the value of the mind. He constantly emphasizes the necessity of schools and the importance of education to our nation. He points out that "a great people is produced by contact with great minds." No doubt he would agree with H. G. Wells in saying that "human progress is largely mental

progress." The effectiveness of the individual citizen depends not upon luck or pull or money or friends but upon the quality of his brains. He says, "It is mind alone that makes man, the capacity to know the truth." Likewise in a democracy the quality of our civilization and the strength of our future depends upon a high level of intelligence among all the people. The statesman sees these indisputable facts and acts accordingly. It has been said that the future is simply a race between "education and catastrophe." Problems of the most serious import require solution. Clear, straight, hard thinking alone will do it. This man sees this great truth in all its bearings and never fails to emphasize it. It may not be one of the spectacular aspects of his Americanism but it is one which the future will not forget. Americans believe in their children and in education. They demand primary schools, high schools, colleges and universities. These agencies have no better or more understanding friend than this man.

In America we have the curious practice of classifying men. We attempt to put labels on them and imagine that thereby we have settled something. We have unusual facility in this method because we rarely pause to agree on any definition of the terms. As a matter of fact it is not the meaning of the term that gives us concern. It is the implication it carries, its flavor or its color. We say a man is a conservative, a liberal or a radical and for us the term carries praise or opprobrium depending entirely upon our own point of view. Now this man's Americanism comes to lofty expression in what some have praised and others have criticized as his "conservatism." Let us examine the actual facts.

He reverences our past. He knows that that past has produced for us much truth and wisdom. Therefore, he believes in history and a thorough knowledge of that

past. He avers that "it is important to keep our foundations clearly in mind." Moreover to him this is by no means a negative but a positive approach to our common problems for "to preserve also is to build, and to save is to construct. No people can look forward who do not look backward. The strongest guarantee of the future is the past." Here is simply recognition of the unity of history. To him a thing is not true just because it is old. It is true because it accords with the standards of reason and experience. Some things stay put. "The great principles of life do not change, they are permanent and well known." He does not confuse truth with time although some of his critics do. When we call him a conservative we must distinguish clearly between the various types. He represents "that conservatism which is the strength of all civilization."

He uses the past for the future. He is no mere worshipper of the past as the past. It has meaning chiefly as a guide for the future. He recognizes clearly the evils of dead, congealed conservatism. He alludes with disdain to "the senseless condition of being the same that their fathers had been." He knows that no age is perfect, that no civilization is good unless it is becoming better and that it is the very nature of goodness to grow. So "the society which is satisfied is lost." His emphasis is on the days to come. He is concerned chiefly about our tendencies. Therefore, he says, "we review the past not in order that we may return to it but that we may find in what direction, straight and clear, it points in the future." His is a sane forward-looking conservatism.

He does not concede that the present clamor for change proves that our national principles are false or that our governmental organization is weak. Changes must come. Every sane person recognizes that. We must admit that there is discontent in the midst of prosperity

and we cannot deny that many evils persist in our social order. To leap from these facts to the conclusion that our national ideals must be defective and our system of government untenable is curiously illogical. The real question concerns the causes of our discontent and the sources of our evil. Immediately to destroy existing institutions because human frailties continue to exist and human nature is not speedily reformed is scarcely to be called wise leadership. To destroy is easy but to achieve freedom is hard. Tennyson described the statesman in lines which might have been written of our candidate:

> "Not he that breaks the dams, but he
> That thro' the channels of the state
> Convoys the people's wish, is great;
> His name is pure, his fame is free;
> He, seeing far an end sublime,
> Contends, despising party rage,
> To hold the Spirit of the Age
> Against the Spirit of the Time."

In fact, he holds that there are genuine grounds for optimism. It is easy to complain and to overlook the great blessings of life. After all is said and done, America, more than any country in the world to-day, offers real privileges and opportunities. In a very true sense when America says every human being shall have a chance at life at its best she keeps that promise. This man says, "The truth is that most of the generations which have gone before, could they be transplanted into present surroundings, would feel that they had gone far toward that unattainable goal." We forget these basal facts. We must not and cannot gloss over existing evils, but why in the name of reason does it follow that radical changes and destruction of existing agencies will correct these conditions?

He knows that progress will require hard unrelenting toil. To him a better future means continuous struggle and presents a constant challenge. He is no day dreamer for he knows the stern realities of a workaday world. We cannot legislate mankind into a state of perfection. "The development of society," he insists, "is a gradual accomplishment. Culture is the product of a continuing effort." In the fullest sense of the term his conservatism is remarkably progressive. It grapples with facts; it uses the past to make the future; it welcomes changes for the better; it rejoices in the blessings we now enjoy; it enters militantly into the struggle for sound progress. This man is an American.

The question of law observance in our country to-day simply cannot be ignored. The problem has many ramifications. It illustrates how many people fail to understand the real genius of our institutions. If democracy means anything it requires "obedience to the rule of the people." Our liberties have been purchased at great sacrifice, but it is amazing how cheaply some would barter them away. With sharp incisiveness this man writes: "The sole guarantee of liberty is obedience to law under the forms of ordered government." How few seem to understand this or, if they do, are willing to live by it! It goes without saying that "the authority of the law is questioned in these days all too much. The binding obligation of obedience against personal desire is denied in many quarters." Upon this issue there is no mistaking where he stands. Law observance is a necessity for perpetuation of American institutions. He points out, among others, two vital considerations. Firstly, law goes back to the individual citizen. "To enact or to repeal laws is not to secure real reform. It is necessary to take these problems directly to the individual." It is upon him that the ultimate test must come. Secondly, we all live in a

world controlled by law, a fact which we cannot ignore with impunity. He never showed better his comprehension of this solemn fact than when he wrote these words: "We are a race of beings created in a universe where law reigns. That will forever need all the repetition and emphasis which can be put on it. Law reigns. It can neither be cheated, evaded or turned aside. We can discover it, live in accordance with it, observe it and develop and succeed; or we can disregard it, violate it, defy it and fail. Law reigns." Here is the basis for an orderly world. The laws which man makes for himself under self-government must be observed with the same kind of respect or our whole scheme collapses. Every true American must share his stern determination to bring about the full observance and rigid enforcement of the law.

His fervent love of America has made him an out-and-out Nationalist. He cannot look with composure upon any plan or proposal which would limit directly or by inference the independence of America. No one need doubt where he stands. His devotion to his country will never permit him to fail in protecting American rights. Without any hesitation he asserts, "It is the record of history that nations follow their interests. We shall follow ours." That is clear-cut and unequivocal. In discussing the Paris Conference he has said, "Everyone knows that the American soul longed to establish a condition which held the promise of a permanent peace, but its ideal was for a peace not imposed by the major forces of the world from without but maintained by the moral power of the world from within." We sense again his deep spiritual understanding of men and of nations. Without narrowness, with deep devotion to American ideals, he knows that the Kingdom of God is within us and that peace cannot be taken by violence. He was

thoroughly in sympathy with the Washington Conference, its methods and results because it, in no way, contradicted American principles. No nation was to "suffer any diminution of independence." That conference was to him "the expression of a great hope." "It proposes something that America can do at home. It surrenders no right, it imposes no burden, it promises relief at home and a better understanding abroad." He stands for America first because America can then serve all mankind. We are an independent people. With real fervor he has exclaimed, "We have a great desire to be supremely American."

Here then is this man who is a fellow American. He believes firmly in intelligence; he is the apostle of sound progress for all the people; he demands that democracy shall respect its own laws; and above all, he stands for the undiminished, untrammelled independence and sovereignty of the United States of America. Heart and soul, he is an American.

III. THE HUMAN BEING

We have seen what manner of man he is. We have found him to be superbly American. The roots of true Americanism run down deep into humanity. By the very logic of our national principles we were forced to enter the Great War. Not for territorial expansion, not for indemnities, not for trade supremacy or any selfish reason did we mobilize our men and our money. We sent our most precious possessions across the waters. Believing what we did and being what we were it was inevitable. There was no alternative. To be an American is to be a member of the human race. It goes deeper than national lines or political issues into the very heart of mankind. It rests back upon the value which we place upon a human being. We know that there is nothing in all the

world that can be compared to or should be given in exchange for a human being. A spark has disturbed our clod. We are all potentially sons and daughters of a common Father. The brotherhood of man is a great spiritual reality. There are some questions which can be rightly viewed only from this angle. We shall find here new depths in this man whom we have chosen as our leader.

He has unlimited confidence in the people. This is said in no cheap sense. It is an ineradicable part of his theory of representative government. He actually proceeds upon the conviction, as Thomas Hooker put it, that "the foundation of authority is laid firstly in the free consent of the people." This is a favorite quotation of the President's. As early as 1895 when he was a college student he wrote in his prize essay that "Sovereignty is always finally vested in the people." He constantly reiterated his conviction that the people have nothing to depend upon but themselves. They must and can work out their own destiny. It is a mistake to place too much reliance upon government. He knows that citizens thoroughly aroused to their duties can accomplish what they desire and that without such an attitude on the part of the people there is little hope of genuine progress. Responsibility he places squarely where it belongs. He insists that "it rests entirely on the people. It depends on their ability both to rule and to obey. It is what they are. The government is what they make it." Consistent with this point of view he actively supported the change to the direct election of United States senators. His whole career is a challenge to every citizen to perform his public duty. As a human being he believes without reservations in the people and their capacity for self-government.

Some very significant deductions follow from this main

proposition. If the people are the source of all governmental power and, in the last analysis, of national stability then it follows as surely as the night the day that women have a natural and indisputable place in the affairs of state. For certainly to-day we do not need to insist that the primary question is not whether an individual is a man or a woman. It is not a question of sex, important and persistent as its problems are for a changing social order. The really significant thing about all of us is that we are human beings and American citizens. Nor is it so much a question of right as of duty. She who lays claim to the privileges of citizenship in this American Republic must also carry her share of the duties. For all of us, men and women alike, to be citizens means actual obligations which interfere seriously with our personal ease and comfort. They require time and money and sometimes life itself. So we pay our taxes, we struggle for social betterment, we stand ready to defend our country, we respond to the draft, we give of the most sacred possessions of our homes—our sons and daughters—when America calls. Moreover a democratic as well as an aristocratic society must recognize practically the principle of noblesse oblige. To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required. If the members of this convention are the picked representatives of their communities, their obligations are correspondingly large. To our women much has been given which they in turn owe to all of us. We do not want solely a man's or a woman's world—we want a human world—and we are rapidly achieving it. This does not mean that men and women are to become alike. Rather it requires each of us to make his or her peculiar contribution. Fortunately no two of us are alike. Our civilization will be sturdy and satisfying, rich and dependable just in proportion as we deepen rather than

decrease the difference between men and women. Diversity, not uniformity, makes for wealth of life.

In very practical ways our candidate has recognized all of this. As early as 1907 he was supporting equal suffrage. Those were the days when it required courage to be a suffragist. But he saw the principle with perfect clearness and was its ardent advocate from the beginning of his public career. Likewise when he was in the Senate of his own state he actively supported the Mothers' Relief bill and as Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1919 he signed the forty-eight hour bill designed to safeguard the vital interests of women and children.

We must add to these convincing practical evidences of his position the deeper human aspects. His speeches reveal a peculiarly beautiful and gracious appreciation of the mother and the home. An unvarying note of nobility permeates his utterances whenever he alludes to these factors of our life and social order. When writing of Andrew Carnegie he said that "a great man comes from the devotion of a great mother." His allusion to Lincoln's mother, supplemented by your own knowledge of the detailed facts, is deeply touching: "His cradle was bare, but above it was the precious canopy of the love of a gentle mother." He knows that "no man was ever meanly born." He believes in preserving the memories of our great men, and in celebrating their natal days, but he insists that "there can be no proper observance of a birthday which forgets the mother." There is one incident in his life, immediately following his taking the oath of office as President which is too sacred to be described here but which makes it utterly impossible ever to doubt that a mother has a shrine deep in his soul. So to him the home is our most sacred institution. In these days when some think there is accumulating evidence

that the home is a vanishing institution, that monogamy is an outworn social form, and that our moral standards are changing rapidly and radically it is refreshing to come upon this man with his sanity and confidence. In his speech of acceptance of the nomination for the Vice-Presidency he uttered these sound conclusions: "The destiny, the greatness of America lies around the hearthstone. If thrift and industry are taught there, and the example of self-sacrifice oft appears, if honor abide there, and high ideals, if there the building of fortune be subordinate to the building of character, America will live in security, rejoicing in an abundant prosperity and good government at home, and in peace, respect and confidence abroad. If these virtues be absent there is no power that can supply these blessings. Look well then to the hearthstone, therein all hope for America lies." I ask you, in sober, serious moments can you doubt the soundness of this man's thought or question his real appreciation of women's place in America? Herein we find conclusive evidence that he is a human being and we find it in forms both practical and ideal. No one can fail to be gripped by his depth of human understanding.

A second deduction from his fundamental confidence in the people makes clear with equal cogency, that the integrity of the nation is a supreme consideration, that sectionalism and class distinctions are intolerable in a true America, that groups must coöperate rather than engage in bitter conflict and particularly that capital and labor must for the sake of both and the public welfare pool their interests and work together as human beings. In all these complicated problems he never fails to emphasize the fundamental fact that human values are supreme. In very practical ways he has contributed through the years to the solution of these vexed prob-

lems. In his home state, organized labor was interested in the modification of labor injunctions. In keeping with the wishes of the employees the desired results were brought about without any invasion of the fundamental legal principles involved. As early as 1912, the first year he was in the Senate of his state, he supported the Full Crew bill for the railways providing for an adequate number of men on each train in keeping with the judgment of those who actually operate them.

On the side of logic and theory his position is equally clear and his attitude through a long period of years has won for him the entire confidence of both capital and labor. He believes firmly in the value and right to organize. His own words are significant: "It is well also that the people have the power to organize for their industrial protection and advantage. Here, too, there may be serious errors, but here, too, such errors have been matched by the errors of those charged with the responsibility of management. Oftentimes the inconvenience and loss fall on the innocent. This is all a part of the price of freedom." His ideal, however, is coöperation, not enmity, mutual conference and coöperation, not open warfare and bitter antagonism. He actually believes that men can work together in goodwill and with mutual benefit. He hopes there may "be established a true industrial democracy" where "each individual would become an owner, an operator and a manager, a master and a servant, a ruler and a subject." His confidence in man, therefore, is no campaign cry. It is a living reality in his heart. In his characteristically elemental fashion he lays down a principle which conveys in another form one of the eternal verities enunciated by the Great Teacher. He asks us to remember "that the people are not created for the benefit of industry, but industry is created for the benefit of the

people." There is something unanswerable about this position. Its finality will be conceded by every human being. His plea is for fairness from both sides. Our difficulties arise largely because economic considerations are permitted to crowd into the foreground where human values belong. Prosperity is vital to the commonwealth but not supreme. What shall it profit a nation if it gain the whole world and lose its own soul? The last decade has answered that question with bitter and terrible finality. America is in no danger of losing her soul. She does need always to remember that first things belong first. So our candidate pleads for fair play. "The most pressing requirement of the present day," he says, "is that we should learn this lesson and be content with a fair share, whether it be the returns from our invested capital or the rewards of toil." In his years of service at the State House in Boston, railway presidents and representatives of organized labor learned to trust him and his sense of fairness. Both sides stated that they were willing to leave the decision to him without even presenting their own arguments. They knew he would get the facts and would be fair. This is high tribute not only to his statesmanship but to his sense of intrinsic values.

The human spirit must send its lines out into all the world. We have seen that this man is supremely American, that he can tolerate no limitations of a sound nationalism. Some have therefore concluded that he neglects the cogent implications of the argument we have been following. Moreover they have arrived at this position by misunderstanding his expressed views regarding a world organization and have failed to give proper and deserved emphasis to his clearly and emphatically expressed policy. If he is the great human being whom we have said he is, if his confidence in the people is

based on the deep spiritual interpretation of human values which we have set forth, then the argument must of necessity culminate in establishing that he has a clearly defined world view. Of this there is abundant evidence.

We may well begin with the great question of war. It is *the* problem of civilization to-day. Any man who believes what he evidently does must be opposed to war as such. So we hear him exclaiming, "We want no more war. You men and women who have seen it or have been engaged in it want war least of all. We want peace with justice and with honor." But he is no impractical idealist. He knows history and he loves America, her institutions, her principles and her people. So he advocates adequate military preparedness by sea and land. He recognized that the Great War was a bitter conflict between Despotism and Democracy, between irreconcilable theories of government and civilization. With his whole being therefore he was on the side of American principles and human welfare. Alluding to General Pershing's visit to the tomb of LaFayette, he has shown what he regards as America's consistent and historic world policy. Let them who have failed to sense his deep understanding of our obligation to mankind ponder these words: "Whenever any power has sought to substitute the rule of force for the rule of conscience in the affairs of mankind, the soul of America has stood beside the champion of freedom proclaiming, 'We are here.'" His attitude to war, then, is just what discriminating citizens with a world view can support and advocate. When America's fundamental ideals are at stake anywhere America must be there.

Does he recognize our duty to mankind and our obligations of world leadership? It seems strange that such an issue need be raised. Some citizens of our land have been suffering from obsessions, they have developed

political if not moral blind spots and have assumed that *their* solution of world problems is *the* solution. Straight, clear thinking, however, in the long run cannot be bowed out of existence. Practical situations must be met practically. A gain in world relationships is a gain and should be welcomed as such.

In dealing with this world problem we must let the President speak for himself. We shall therefore quote him extensively for the precise purpose of bringing together in one place his profoundly significant utterances upon this phase of his policies. I think the cumulative effect will be impressive even to those who are thoroughly familiar with each allusion. On January 11, 1922, speaking on the anniversary of the birthday of Alexander Hamilton, before the Hamilton Club of Chicago, he recognized in these unmistakable words our duty of world leadership: "We are advancing toward a new leadership among the peoples of the earth, which must be promoted not by our power to take but by our power to bestow. That same moral grandeur which has been the national ideal in our domestic relations is being made the ideal of our foreign relations." That is straight American idealism with a clear purpose to serve all mankind not by selfish grasping, but by generous bestowal. On Washington's Birthday in 1922, speaking at Baltimore, he made this pungent remark: "We do not deny our duty to continue the making of sacrifices for the welfare of the world." Because men differ as to methods of accomplishing a purpose, it does not follow that the purpose does not exist, particularly when it is comprehended in its deepest and fullest implications.

His message to the Congress last December while insisting consistently upon American independence was an unqualified, unimpeachable declaration of our sense of obligation to all mankind. Let us consider this paragraph:

"Our country has one cardinal principle to maintain in its foreign policy. It is an American principle. It must be an American policy. We attend to our own affairs, conserve the interests of our own citizens; but we recognize thoroughly our obligation to help others, reserving to the decision of our judgment the time, the place, and the method. We realize the common bond of humanity. We know the inescapable law of service." It is important here to note the emphasis. The method is American. The climax is our sense of world responsibility.

And then came his speech on Memorial Day of this year. With even greater emphasis and earnestness he said: "We are not going to be able to avoid meeting the world and bearing our part of the burdens of the world. We must meet these burdens and overcome them, or they will meet us and overcome us. For my part, I desire my country to meet them without evasion and without fear in an upright, downright, square American way." In all fairness, I ask, can anyone honestly question this honest man's devotion to humanity?

Moreover, back of his fine idealism he has definite proposals regarding methods of procedure in realizing his aims. He was and is an ardent advocate of the Washington Conference. It serves as an illustration of the methods he would follow. He would proceed "not by force but by conference." He believes unquestionably in the eternal value of mutual discussion. He knows that reason must prevail but only when men meet face to face do they clearly understand one another. Then the play and power of personality win its victories. Men must not only think correctly but must feel correctly. We must "banish our moods at the bidding of the permanently real," said George Herbert Palmer. This result can be secured as men come to know and understand one another in friendly conference.

Even more specifically he boldly supports the proposal for a World Court. He would adjust and minimize the disagreements between nations not by the use of military power or even by the threats and displays of great naval and military strength but by the methods of reason and justice. Surely no one intelligently can imagine that he would ever sacrifice American independence and sovereignty. He does yearn to coöperate with other nations in correcting misunderstandings and eliminating the differences whose cumulative effect often presages war. So on May 30, 1924, he reiterated his personal position with great candor when he said: "More than a year ago President Harding proposed that the Senate should authorize our adherence to the protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice, with certain conditions. His suggestion has already had my approval. On that I stand." Here is a practical idealist with an American world view which is clear, unmistakable and challenging. It is now time that his position be more clearly comprehended in its spiritual depth and practical effectiveness. He knows America must play her full part in world affairs. He insists upon doing it in an American way.

As self-respecting individuals, we can trust *this man.* As lovers of America we can follow one who is *supremely American,* as citizens with interests as broad as humanity we can accept his guidance into new and larger world leadership because he is at heart a *human being.* To the national convention of the greatest party in American history, I have the distinction to present as candidate to succeed himself as President of the United States of America,—the virile man,—the staunch American—the real human being—*CALVIN COOLIDGE.*

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

We, the representatives of the Democratic party, in national convention assembled, pay our profound homage to the memory of Woodrow Wilson. Our hearts are filled with gratitude that American Democracy should have produced this man, whose spirit and influence will live on through the ages; and that it was our privilege to have coöperated with him in the advancement of ideals of government which will serve as an example and inspiration for this and future generations. We affirm our abiding faith in those ideals, and pledge ourselves to take up the standard which he bore and to strive for the full triumph of the principles of democracy to which he dedicated his life.

DEMOCRATIC PRIVILEGES

The Democratic party believes in equal rights to all and special privilege to none. The Republican party holds that special privileges are essential to national prosperity. It believes that national prosperity must originate with the special interests and seep down through the channels of trade to the less favored industries, to the wage earners and small-salaried employes. It has accordingly enthroned privilege and nurtured selfishness.

The Republican party is concerned chiefly with material things; the Democratic party is concerned chiefly with human rights. The masses, burdened by discriminating laws and unjust administration, are demanding re-

lief. The favored special interests, represented by the Republican party, contented with their unjust privileges, are demanding that no change be made. The Democratic party stands for remedial legislation and progress. The Republican party stands still.

COMPARISON OF PARTIES

We urge the American people to compare the record of eight unsullied years of Democratic administration with that of the Republican administration. In the former there was no corruption. Party pledges were faithfully fulfilled and a Democratic Congress enacted an extraordinary number of constructive and remedial laws.

The economic life of the nation was quickened. Tariff taxes were reduced. A federal trade commission was created. A federal farm loan system was established. Child labor legislation was enacted. A good roads bill was passed. Eight-hour laws were adopted. A secretary of labor was given a seat in the Cabinet of the President.

The Clayton amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust act was passed, freeing American labor and taking it from the category of commodities. By the Smith-Lever bill improvement of agricultural conditions was effected. A corrupt practices act was adopted. A well-considered warehouse act was passed. Federal employment bureaus were created, farm loan banks were organized and the Federal Reserve system was established.

Privilege was uprooted. A corrupt lobby was driven from the national capital. A higher sense of individual and national duty was aroused. America enjoyed an unprecedented period of social and material progress.

During the time which intervened between the inauguration of a Democratic administration on March 4, 1913, and our entrance into the World War, we placed upon the statute books of our country more effective, constructive

and remedial legislation than the Republican party had placed there in a generation.

During the great struggle which followed we had a leadership that carried America to greater heights of honor and power and glory than she had ever known before in her entire history.

Transition from this period of exalted Democratic leadership to the sordid record of the last three and a half years makes the nation ashamed. It marks the contrast between a high conception of public service and an avid purpose to distribute spoils.

REPUBLICAN INEFFICIENCY AND CORRUPTION

Never before in our history has the Government been so tainted by corruption and never has an administration so utterly failed. The nation has been appalled by the revelations of political depravity which have characterized the conduct of public affairs.

We arraign the Republican party for attempting to limit inquiry into official delinquencies and to impede, if not to frustrate, the investigations to which in the beginning the Republican party and leaders assented, but which later they regarded with dismay.

These investigations sent the former Secretary of the Interior to Three Rivers in disgrace and dishonor. These investigations revealed the incapacity and indifference to public obligation of the Secretary of the Navy, compelling him, by force of public opinion, to quit the Cabinet. These investigations confirmed the general impression as to the unfitness of the Attorney General by exposing an official situation and personal contacts which shocked the conscience of the nation and compelled his dismissal from the Cabinet.

These investigations disclosed the appalling conditions of the Veterans' Bureau, with its fraud upon the Govern-

ment, and its cruel neglect of the sick and disabled soldiers of the World War. These investigations revealed the criminal and fraudulent nature of the oil leases, which caused the Congress, despite the indifference of the Executive, to direct recovery of the public domain and the prosecution of the criminal.

Such are the exigencies of partisan politics that Republican leaders are teaching the strange doctrine that public censure should be directed against those who expose crime rather than against criminals who have committed the offenses. If only three Cabinet officers out of ten are disgraced the country is asked to marvel at how many are free from taint.

Long boastful that it was the only party "fit to govern," the Republican party has proved its inability to govern even itself. It is at war with itself. As an agency of government it has ceased to function. This nation cannot afford to entrust its welfare to a political organization that cannot master itself, or to an Executive whose policies have been rejected by his own party. To retain in power an administration of this character would inevitably result in four years more of continued disorder, internal dissension and governmental inefficiency.

A vote for Coolidge is a vote for chaos!

ISSUES

The dominant issues of the campaign are created by existing conditions.

Dishonesty, discrimination, extravagance and inefficiency exist in Government. The burdens of taxation have become unbearable. Distress and bankruptcy in agriculture, the basic industry of our country, is affecting the happiness and prosperity of the whole people. The high cost of living is causing hardship and unrest.

The slowing down of industry is adding to the general

distress. The tariff, the destruction of our foreign markets and the high cost of transportation are taking the profit out of agriculture, mining and other raw material industries. Large standing armies and the cost of preparing for war still cast their burdens upon humanity. These conditions the existing Republican Administration has proved itself unwilling or unable to redress.

The Democratic party pledges itself to the following program:

HONEST GOVERNMENT

We pledge the Democratic party to drive from public places all who make barter of our national honor, its resources or the administration of its laws; to punish those guilty of these offenses.

To put none but the honest in public office; to practice economy in the expenditure of public money; to reverence and respect the rights of all under the Constitution.

To condemn and destroy Government by the spy and the blackmailer, as by this Republican Administration was both encouraged and practiced.

TARIFF AND TAXATION

The Fordney-McCumber Tariff act is the most unjust, unscientific and dishonest tariff tax measure ever enacted in our history. It is class legislation, which defrauds all the people for the benefit of a few; it heavily increases the cost of living, penalizes agriculture, corrupts the Government, fosters paternalism, and, in the long run, does not benefit the very interests for which it was enacted.

We denounce the Republican tariff laws, which are written in great part in aid of monopolies, and thus prevent that reasonable exchange of commodities which would enable foreign countries to buy our surplus agricultural and manufactured products, with resultant benefit

to the retainers and producers of America. Trade interchange, on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating, is a time-honored doctrine of Democratic faith. We declare our party's position to be in favor of a tax on commodities entering the custom houses that will promote effective competition, protect against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue to support the Government.

The greatest contributing factor in the increase and unbalancing of prices is unscientific taxation. After having increased taxation and the cost of living by two billion dollars, under the Fordney-McCumber tariff, all that the Republican party could suggest in the way of relief was a cut of $300,000,000 in direct taxes; and that was to be given principally to those with the largest incomes.

Although there was no evidence of a lack of capital for investment to meet the present requirements of all legitimate industrial enterprises, and although the farmers and general consumers were bearing the brunt of tariff favors already granted to special interests, the Administration was unable to devise any plan except one to grant further aid to the few.

Fortunately this plan of the Administration failed, and, under Democratic leadership, aided by progressive Republicans, a more equitable one was adopted, which reduced direct taxes by about four hundred and fifty million dollars.

The issue between the President and the Democratic party is not one of tax reduction or of the conservation of capital. It is an issue of the relative burden of taxation and of the distribution of capital as affected by the taxation of income. The President still stands on the so-called Mellon plan, which his party has just refused to endorse or mention in its platform.

The income tax was intended as a tax upon wealth. It was not intended to take from the poor any part of the necessities of life. We hold that the fairest tax with which to raise revenues for the federal government is the income tax.

We favor a graduated tax upon incomes, so adjusted as to lay the burdens of government upon the taxpayers in proportion to the benefits they enjoy and their ability to pay.

We oppose the so-called nuisance taxes, sales taxes, and all other forms of taxation that unfairly shift to the consumer the burdens of taxation.

We refer to the Democratic revenue measure passed by the last Congress, as distinguished from the Mellon tax plan, as an illustration of the policy of the Democratic party. We first made a flat reduction of 25 per cent upon the tax of all incomes payable this year, and then we so changed the proposed Mellon plan as to eliminate taxes upon the poor, reducing them upon moderate incomes and, in a lesser degree, upon the incomes of multimillionaires. We hold that all taxes are unnecessarily high, and pledge ourselves to further reductions.

We denounce the Mellon tax plan as a device to relieve multimillionaires at the expense of other taxpayers, and we accept the issue of taxation tendered by President Coolidge.

AGRICULTURE

During the four years of Republican government the economic condition of the American farmer has changed from comfort to bankruptcy, with all its attendant miseries. The chief causes of this are:

(*a*) The Republican policy of isolation in international affairs, which has prevented Europe from getting back to its normal balance, and, by leaving unsolved the economic problems abroad, has driven the European city popula-

tion from industrial activities to the soil in large numbers in order to earn the mere necessities of life. This has deprived the American farmer of his normal export trade.

(*b*) The Republican policy of a prohibitive tariff, exemplified in the Fordney-McCumber law, which has forced the American farmer, with his export market debilitated, to buy manufactured goods at sustained high domestic levels, thereby making him the victim of the profiteer.

(*c*) The Republican policy of high transportation rates, both rail and water, which has made it impossible for the farmer to ship his produce to market at even a living profit.

To offset these policies and their disastrous results, and to restore the farmer again to economic equality with other industrialists, we pledge ourselves:

(*a*) To adopt an international policy of such coöperation, by direct official instead of indirect and evasive unofficial means, as will reëstablish the farmers' export market by restoring the industrial balance in Europe and the normal flow of international trade with the settlement of Europe's economic problems.

(*b*) To adjust the tariff so that the farmer and all other classes can buy again in a competitive manufacturers' market.

(*c*) To readjust and lower rail and water rates, which will make our markets, both for the buyer and the seller, national and international instead of regional and local.

(*d*) To bring about the early completion of internal waterway systems for transportation, and to develop our water powers for cheaper fertilizer and use on our farms.

(*e*) To stimulate by every proper governmental activity the progress of the coöperative marketing movement and the establishment of an export marketing cor-

poration or commission in order that the exportable surplus may not establish the price of the whole crop.

(*f*) To secure for the farmer credits suitable for his needs.

(*g*) By the establishment of these policies and others naturally supplementary thereto, to reduce the margin between what the producer receives for his products and what the consumer has to pay for his supplies, to the end that we secure an equality for agriculture.

RAILROADS

The sponsors for the Esch-Cummins Transportation act of 1920, at the time of its presentation to Congress, stated that it had for its purpose the reduction of the cost of transportation, the improvement of service, the bettering of labor conditions, the promotion of peaceful coöperation between employer and employe, and, at the same time, the assurance of a fair and just return to the railroads upon their investment.

We are in accord with these announced purposes, but contend that the act has failed to accomplish them. It has failed to reduce the cost of transportation. The promised improvement in service has not been realized. The labor provisions of the act have proven unsatisfactory in settling differences between employer and employe. The so-called recapture clause has worked to the advantage of the strong and has been of no benefit to the weak.

The pronouncement in the act for the development of both rail and water transportation has proved futile. Water transportation upon our inland waterways has not been encouraged, and limitation of our coastwise trade is threatened by the administration of the act. It has unnecessarily interfered with the power of the states to regulate purely intrastate transportation. It must, there-

fore, be so rewritten that the high purposes which the public welfare demands may be accomplished.

Railroad freight rates should be so readjusted as to give the bulky, basic, low-priced raw commodities, such as agricultural products, coal and ores, the lowest rates, placing the higher rates upon more valuable and less bulky manufactured products.

MUSCLE SHOALS AND FERTILIZERS

We reaffirm and pledge the fulfillment of the policy, with reference to Muscle Shoals, as declared and passed by the Democratic majority of the Sixty-fourth Congress in the National Defense act of 1916, "for the production of nitrates or other products needed for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers."

We hold that the production of cheaper and higher grade fertilizers is essential to agricultural prosperity. We demand prompt action by Congress for the operation of Muscle Shoals plants to maximum capacity in the production, distribution and sale of commercial fertilizers to the farmers of the country, and we oppose any legislation that limits the production of fertilizers at Muscle Shoals by limiting the amount of power to be used in their manufacture.

REPUBLICAN CONTRACTION OF CREDIT AND CURRENCY

We denounce the recent cruel and unjust contraction of legitimate and necessary credit and currency, which was directly due to the so-called deflation policy of the Republican party as declared in its national platform of June, 1920, and in the speech of acceptance of its candidate for the Presidency.

Within eighteen months after the election of 1920 this policy resulted in withdrawing bank loans and discounts

by over five billions of dollars and in contracting our currency by over fifteen hundred millions of dollars. This contraction bankrupted hundreds of thousands of farmers and stock growers in America and resulted in widespread industrial depression and unemployment.

We demand that the Federal Reserve system be so administered as to give stability to industry, commerce and finance, as was intended by the Democratic party, which gave the Federal Reserve system to the nation.

RECLAMATION

The Democratic party was foremost in urging reclamation for the immediate arid and semi-arid lands of the West. These lands are located in the public-land states and, therefore, it is the duty of the Government to utilize their resources by reclamation.

Homestead entrymen under reclamation projects have suffered from the extravagant inefficiencies and mistakes of the federal government.

The Reclamation act of 1924, recommended by the Fact-Finding Commission and added as an amendment to the second deficiency appropriation bill at the last session of Congress, was eliminated from that bill by the Republican conferees in the report they presented to Congress one hour before adjournment. The Democratic party pledges itself actively, efficiently and economically to carry on the reclamation projects and to make equitable adjustment for the mistakes the Government has made.

CONSERVATION

We pledge recovery of the navy's oil reserves and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased or otherwise wrongfully transferred to the control of private interests; vigorous

prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; revision of the Water Power act, the General Leasing act and all other legislation relating to the public domain that may be essential to its conservation and honest and efficient use on behalf of the people of the country.

We believe that the nation should retain title to its water power and we favor the expeditious creation and development of our water power. We favor strict public control and conservation of all the nation's natural resources, such as coal, iron, oil and timber, and their use in such manner as may be to the best interest of our citizens.

The conservation of migratory birds, the establishment of game preserves and the protection and conservation of wild life are of importance to agriculturists as well as sportsmen.

Our disappearing natural resource of timber calls for a national policy of reforestation.

IMPROVED HIGHWAYS

Improved roads are of vital importance, not only to commerce and industry but also to agriculture and rural life. We call attention to the record of the Democratic party in this matter and favor a continuance of federal aid under existing federal and state agencies.

MINING

Mining is one of the basic industries of this country. We produce more coal, iron, copper and silver than any other country. The value of our mineral production is second only to agriculture. Mining has suffered like agriculture, and from the same causes. It is the duty of our government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS CONTROLLING NECESSITIES OF LIFE

We pledge the Democratic party to regulate by governmental agencies the anthracite coal industry and all other corporations controlling the necessaries of life, where public welfare has been subordinated to private interests.

MERCHANT MARINE

The Democratic party condemns the vacillating policy of the Republican Administration in its failure to develop an American flag shipping policy. There has been a marked decrease in the volume of American commerce carried in American vessels as compared to the record under a Democratic Administration.

We oppose as illogical and unsound all efforts to overcome by subsidies the handicaps to American shipping and commerce imposed by Republican policies.

We condemn the practice of certain American railroads in favoring foreign ships, and pledge ourselves to correct such discriminations. We declare for an American-owned merchant marine, American-built, and manned by American crews, which is essential for naval security in war, and is a protection to the American farmer and manufacturer against excessive ocean freight charges on products of farm and factory.

We declare the Government should own and operate such ships as will insure the accomplishment of these purposes and to continue such operation as long as it may be necessary without obstructing the development and growth of a privately owned American flag shipping.

EDUCATION

We believe with Thomas Jefferson and other founders of the Republic that ignorance is the enemy of freedom,

and that each state, being responsible for the intellectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education.

The federal government should offer to the states such counsel, advice and aid as may be made available through the federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

CIVIL SERVICE

We denounce the action of the Republican Administration in its violations of the principles of civil service by its partisan removals and manipulation of the eligible lists in the Post Office Department and other Governmental departments; by its packing the Civil Service Commission so that that commission became the servile instrument of the Administration in its wish to deny to the ex-service men their preferential rights under the law and the evasion of the requirements of the law with reference to appointments in the department.

We pledge the Democratic party faithfully to comply with the spirit as well as the regulation of civil service; to extend its provisions to internal revenue officers and to other employes of the Government not in executive positions, and to secure to ex-service men preference in such appointments.

POSTAL EMPLOYES

We declare in favor of adequate salaries to provide decent living conditions for postal employes.

POPULAR ELECTIONS

We pledge the Democratic party to a policy which will prevent members of either House who fail of re-election

from participating in the subsequent sessions of Congress. This can be accomplished by fixing the days for convening the Congress immediately after the biennial national election; and to this end we favor granting the right to the people of the several states to vote on proposed constitutional amendments.

PROBATION

We favor the extension of the probation principle to the courts of the United States.

ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

We welcome the women of the nation to their rightful place by the side of men in the control of the Government, whose burdens they have always shared.

The Democratic party congratulates them upon the essential part which they have taken in the progress of our country, and the zeal with which they are using their political power to aid the enactment of beneficent laws and the exaction of fidelity in the public service.

VETERANS OF WARS

We favor generous appropriations, honest management and sympathetic care and assistance in the hospitalization, rehabilitation and compensation of veterans of all wars and their dependents. The humanizing of the Veterans' Bureau is imperatively required.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

The nation now knows that the predatory interests have, by supplying Republican campaign funds, systematically purchased legislative favors and administrative immunity. The practice must stop; our nation must return to honesty and decency in politics.

Elections are public affairs conducted for the sole pur-

pose of ascertaining the will of the sovereign voters. Therefore, we demand that national elections shall hereafter be kept free from the poison of excessive private contributions.

To this end, we favor reasonable means of publicity, at public expense, so that candidates, properly before the people for federal offices, may present their claims at a minimum of cost. Such publicity should precede the primary and the election.

We favor the prohibition of individual contributions, direct and indirect, to the campaign funds of congressmen, senators or Presidential candidates, beyond a reasonable sum to be fixed in the law, for both individual contributions and total expenditures, with requirements for full publicity.

We advocate a complete revision of the Corrupt Practices act to prevent Newberryism and the election evils disclosed by recent investigations.

NARCOTICS

Recognizing in narcotic addiction, especially the spreading of heroin addiction among the youth, a grave peril to America and to the human race, we pledge ourselves vigorously to take against it all legitimate and proper measures for education, for control and for suppression at home and abroad.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

The Republican Administration has failed to enforce the prohibition law, is guilty of trafficking in liquor permits and has become the protector of violators of this law.

The Democratic party pledges itself to respect and enforce the Constitution and all laws.

THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES

We demand that the states of the Union shall be preserved in all their vigor and power. They constitute a bulwark against the centralizing and destructive tendencies of the Republican party.

We condemn the efforts of the Republican party to nationalize the functions and duties of the states.

We oppose the extension of bureaucracy, the creation of unnecessary bureaus and federal agencies, and the multiplication of offices and office-holders.

We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government essential to the preservation of the free institutions of our Republic.

ASIATIC IMMIGRATION

We pledge ourselves to maintain our established position in favor of the exclusion of Asiatic immigration.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

ALASKA

The maladministration of affairs in Alaska is a matter of concern to all our people.

Under the Republican Administration in Alaska de-

velopment has ceased and the fishing industry has been seriously impaired.

We pledge ourselves to correct the evils which have grown up in the development of that rich domain.

An adequate form of local self-government for Alaska must be provided, and to that end we favor the establishment of a full territorial form of government for that territory, similar to that enjoyed by all the territories except Alaska during the last century of American history.

TERRITORY OF HAWAII

We believe in a policy for continuing the improvements of the National Park, the harbors and breakwaters, and the federal roads of the Territory of Hawaii.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

We recommend legislation for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands.

ARMENIA AND THE LAUSANNE TREATY

We condemn the Lausanne Treaty. It barters legitimate American rights and betrays Armenia for the Chester oil concession.

We favor the protection of American rights in Turkey and the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitral award respecting Armenia.

REPUBLIC OF GREECE

We welcome to the sisterhood of republics the ancient land of Greece, which gave to our party its priceless name. We extend to her government and people our cordial good wishes.

WAR

War is a relic of barbarism, and it is justifiable only as a measure of defense.

In the event of war in which the man power of the nation is drafted, all other resources should likewise be drafted. This will tend to discourage war by depriving it of its profits.

DISARMAMENT, WAR REFERENDUM AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

We demand a strict and sweeping reduction of armaments by land and sea, so that there shall be no competitive military program or naval building. Until agreements to this end have been made we advocate an army and navy adequate for our national safety.

Our Government should secure a joint agreement with all nations for world disarmament and also for a referendum of war, except in case of actual or threatened attack.

Those who must furnish the blood and bear the burdens imposed by war should, whenever possible, be consulted before this supreme sacrifice is required of them.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Democratic party pledges all its energies to the outlawing of the whole war system. We refuse to believe that the wholesale slaughter of human beings on the battlefield is any more necessary to man's highest development than is killing by individuals.

The only hope for world peace and for economic recovery lies in the organized efforts of sovereign nations coöperating to remove the causes of war and to substitute law and order for violence.

Under Democratic leadership a practical plan was devised under which fifty-four nations are now operating and which has for its fundamental purpose the free cooperation of all nations in the work of peace.

The Government of the United States for the last four years has had no foreign policy, and consequently it has delayed the restoration of the political and eco-

nomic agencies of the world. It has impaired our self-respect at home and injured our prestige abroad. It has curtailed our foreign markets and ruined our agricultural prices.

It is of supreme importance to civilization and to mankind that America be placed and kept on the right side of the greatest moral question of all time, and, therefore, the Democratic party renews its declaration of confidence in the ideals of world peace, the League of Nations and the World Court of Justice as together constituting the supreme effort of the statesmanship and religious conviction of our time to organize the world for peace.

Further, the Democratic party declares that it will be the purpose of the next Administration to do all in its power to secure for our country that moral leadership in the family of nations which, in the providence of God, has been so clearly marked out for it.

There is no substitute for the League of Nations as an agency working for peace; therefore, we believe that, in the interest of permanent peace, and in the lifting of the great burdens of war from the backs of the people, and in order to establish a permanent foreign policy on these supreme questions, not subject to change with change of party administrations, it is desirable, wise and necessary to lift this question out of party politics, and to that end to take the sense of the American people at a referendum election, advisory to the Government, to be held officially under act of Congress, free from all other questions and candidacies, after ample time for full consideration and discussion throughout the country, upon the question, in substance, as follows:

"Shall the United States become a member of the League of Nations upon such reservations or amendments to the Covenant of the League as the President and the Senate of the United States may agree upon?"

Immediately upon an affirmative vote we will carry out such mandate.

DEEP WATERWAYS

We favor and will promote deep waterways from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and to the Atlantic Ocean.

FLOOD CONTROL AND WATER TRANSPORTATION

We favor a policy for the fostering and building of inland waterways and the removal of discrimination against water transportation. Flood control and the lowering of flood levels is essential to the safety of life and property, the productivity of our lands, the navigability of our streams and the reclaiming of our wet and overflowed lands and the creation of hydroelectric power.

We favor the expeditious construction of flood relief works on the Mississippi and Colorado rivers, and also such reclamation and irrigation projects upon the Colorado River as may be found to be feasible and practicable.

We favor liberal appropriations for prompt coördinated surveys by the United States to determine the possibilities of general navigation improvements and water power development on navigable streams and their tributaries, to secure reliable information as to the most economical navigation improvement, in combination with the most efficient and complete development of water power.

We favor suspension of the granting of Federal water power licenses by the Federal Water Power Commission until Congress has received reports from the Water Power Commission with regard to applications for such licenses.

FRAUDULENT STOCK SALES

We favor the immediate passage of such legislation as may be necessary to enable the states efficiently to

enforce their laws relating to the gradual financial strangling of innocent investors, workers and consumers, caused by the indiscriminate promotion, refinancing and reorganizing of corporations on an inflated and overcapitalized basis, resulting already in the undermining and collapse of many railroads, public service and industrial corporations, manifesting itself in unemployment, irreparable loss and waste, and which constitute a serious menace to the stability of our economic system.

PRIVATE MONOPOLIES

The Federal Trade Commission has submitted to the Republican Administration numerous reports showing the existence of monopolies and combinations in restraint of trade, and has recommended proceedings against these violators of the law.

The few prosecutions which have resulted from this abundant evidence furnished by this agency created by the Democratic party, while proving the indifference of the Administration to the violations of law by trusts and monopolies and its friendship for them, nevertheless demonstrate the value of the Federal Trade Commission.

We declare that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, and pledge the Democratic party to vigorous enforcement of existing laws against monopoly and illegal combinations and to the enactment of such further measures as may be necessary.

AVIATION

We favor a sustained development of aviation, both by the Government and commercially.

LABOR AND CHILD WELFARE

Labor is not a commodity. It is human. We favor

collective bargaining and laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed.

We favor the enactment of legislation providing that the products of convict labor shipped from one state to another shall be subject to the laws of the latter state, exactly as though they had been produced therein.

In order to mitigate unemployment attending business depression, we urge the enactment of legislation authorizing that the construction and repair of public works be initiated in periods of acute unemployment.

We pledge the party to coöperate with the state governments for the welfare, education and protection of child life and all necessary safeguards against exhaustive. debilitating employment conditions for women.

Without the votes of Democratic members of the Congress the Child Labor amendment would not have been submitted for ratification.

THE LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS

From the day of their birth friendly relations have existed between the Latin-American republics and the United States. That friendship grows stronger as our relations become more intimate. The Democratic party sends to these republics its cordial greetings. God has made us neighbors—justice shall keep us friends.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION; FREEDOM OF SPEECH; FREEDOM OF PRESS

The Democratic party reaffirms its adherence and devotion to those cardinal principles contained in the Constitution and the precepts upon which our Government is founded, that Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the

press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances; that the church and the state shall be and remain separate, and that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States. These principles we pledge ourselves ever to defend and maintain. We insist at all times upon obedience to the orderly processes of the law and deplore and condemn any effort to arouse religious or racial dissension.

CONCLUSION

Affirming our faith in these principles, we submit our cause to the people.

THE DEMOCRATIC KEYNOTE SPEECH

BY SENATOR PAT HARRISON

Chairman Hull, ladies and gentlemen: Forty-eight years ago in the city of St. Louis the hosts of Democracy met in convention to dedicate themselves to purging corruption from the public service. We meet to-day for a rededication to the same purpose. There was corruption then; there is a Saturnalia of corruption now. There were disgraced public officials then, repudiated by their party and under arrest; but to-day Fall goes unmolested on his ranch in New Mexico; Daugherty sat with Presidential approval in the convention at Cleveland, and Daugherty's attorney was chairman of the committee created to oil the steam roller of the worst boss-ridden convention of a generation. It was in that convention in 1876 that Democracy turned to that superb and matchless leader, Samuel J. Tilden, to bring the Government back to honesty and carry the party to victory. It is particularly appropriate that I read to you one plank of the Democratic platform of that year, written by that great New Yorker:

> "When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three senators profiting secretly by their votes as lawmakers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treas-

ury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors; an ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic and lest by making no change of men or party we get no change of measures and no real reform."

The moral is plain: The country will make its own application.

At the outset let it be understood that this convention, composed of the militant representatives of the Democracy of the nation, is no cold-storage affair. It is going to be red-hot, highly seasoned, and well prepared. We were not sent here under an Executive order by the candidate to notify the people. We are here by mandate of the people to name the candidate—the next President of the United States.

The Democratic party is the friend of business, big and small; it delights to see the reflected glory from burning furnaces; the contentment from happy and prosperous farm homes; the crowded lobbies of counting houses; the steady streams of heavily loaded trains; and the early bustle of mining camps. It cares not how large the scale or big the investment, what it is most concerned about is honesty in operation.

The corner stone of the Republican party is special

privilege, and to-day its grip is more firmly tightened and its place more secure than at any time in its long history. It needs no cards to gain admittance to the White House, no password to the congressional committee rooms.

Crooked business needs only to gesture or special privilege to wink to make this administration understand and do.

It is against this brutal thing that we will wage relentless war in this campaign. We will not pitch our camps nor stack our arms until the American masses and honest business are freed from its strangle hold. They may direct their poisonous gases at us, but no camouflage can be contrived that will give covert and protection to the Pharisee. They can describe us as they may—hurling anathemas will be futile—for these guarded posts of favoritism will be taken, these fortresses of special privilege and unjust power must fall.

In the guarded orchards of this administration the golden apples of special privilege have been gathered by the favored few. It is the guardian of every special interest. The mother never guarded her tender young more zealously than has this administration watched over the needs of its petted and pampered puppets.

Not only in the administration, but in the enactment of laws, these interests come first. The administration's late and lamented tax proposal was grown in the Mellon patches of special privilege. Its propagation was a work of Republican art.

For a while it was thought to be a very beautiful, large, colorful and juicy thing. It attracted unusual attention. The invited guests, a selected few in number, smacked their lips in anticipation of the feast. But when it was examined and its parts dissected, its rottenness was revealed. No setting was ever more adroitly staged than

when this scheme of taxation first made its début. It was billed for passage at the psychological moment. The people were stooped under a heavy load of taxation. For three long years they had felt their country slipping through the results of a riotous and debauched administration. They had seen the natural resources of this Government dissipated, its charted courses abandoned, its leaders corrupted. They saw a policy of passivity adding discredit abroad and bankruptcy at home.

Their hearts were heavy and their spirits low. Any ray of hope that might bring the slightest relief was welcomed. When the Secretary of the Treasury offered his plan and the President indorsed it, the American people did not stop to study nor tarry to think. But reason follows hysteria, and right ultimately triumphs.

What is this melon that Mellon sought to cut? It would have given 1,200 of the 3,585,985 income-tax payers in America 51 per cent of the total reduction.

Under its benign provisions an income of $5,000,000 was to receive a reduction of $1,331,832, while an income of $3,000 would have received only $8.75 reduction. Through its unrestricted earned-income provisions it would have opened an avenue of escape to every tax-dodging capitalist in America.

Written in the cold lines of that proposal was the inspiration of its author, that the less exacted from the highly favored few, and the more demanded from the less favored many, the greater the good to the common country. The champions of the proposal believe that prosperity should come from the crumbs that fall from the tables of the rich; that if you legislate solely to make the well-to-do prosperous their prosperity will seep through upon those below. The Republican party is the ancient enemy of the income tax. It is contrary to reactionary Republican doctrine and inimical to Republican prac-

tices. The income tax was never intended to touch poverty. It exacts no settlements from bankrupt courts—forecloses no mortgages and forces no sales. It is collected only where prosperity smiles and earnings abound. As a means of raising revenue it is one of our party's priceless legacies, and as such it shall be neither weakened nor destroyed.

When the President and his Secretary of the Treasury, with all the hosts of selfish interests, charged on the battle front of the American Congress in behalf of the Mellon plan, Democracy and Progressive Republicanism stood firm. It was the same ancient contest, and for the same old cause. Under the leadership of Simmons in the Senate and Garner in the House we triumphed, not because we were numerically strong, but because we were assuredly right. Through the Democratic law every taxpayer in America will get a 25 per cent reduction this year.

Every person who pays an income tax will be required to pay less in the future than in the past. And this Democratic legislation, against which all the agencies of this administration have inveighed, will give a greater reduction in taxes than would have the Mellon plan to every person whose annual income amounts to less than $67,000.

Out of the total of 3,585,985 income-tax payers in America 3,580,585 will receive a greater reduction in the Democratic plan than they would have received under the Mellon plan.

In the reduction of taxes the Democratic party sought greater reductions and broader eliminations than did the Republican nominee or the Secretary of the Treasury. In the Administration's mad effort to forestall Democracy's desire to effect greater reductions than those recommended by the Administration the Treasury Department juggled figures and deceived the public.

The Administration said that the Treasury Depart-

ment would only stand for a reduction of $390,000,000. The Democratic party gave them a reduction of $470,000,000.

The Administration said that the tax on candies, checks, notes, automobile parts, drafts and soft drinks should remain. The Democratic party said those taxes must go.

The Administration said that if we would increase taxes on 3,580,585 income-tax payers and reduce the taxes on 5,400, it would release money for productive enterprises and increase the prosperity of all. The Democratic party answered that indubitable facts refuted such an argument.

It was not reasoning they sought nor facts they desired, but more special privileges to the favored few they craved.

In 1922, out of $2,879,000,000 assets listed for estate taxes, there was not found enough tax-free securities to cover funeral expenses. For the year 1921 the total net income returns from business amounted to $2,366,318,000, and only $47,000,000 of this amount was returned by individuals whose incomes were in excess of $70,000 annually. The Democratic plan for reducing all taxes, but reducing them equitably on the basis of ability to pay, will result in releasing more money for investments in productive enterprises than would have the Mellon plan.

The Republican nominee in reluctantly signing the measure declared for its immediate reform. What does he mean by reform? Does he propose to change the law by transferring the burdens carried by 5,400 whose backs are broad to the three and one-half millions whose backs are bowed? Does he propose to make up the reduction on the 5,400 favored few by resurrecting the many nuisance taxes on the unfavored many? Is that his challenge? Then we accept it.

With the promises of the 1920 campaign to reduce the cost of living resounding in our ears, the country beheld

in the passage of the Fordney-McCumber tariff law the most flagrant repudiation of campaign pledges in all the history of political parties. It was a law that reeked with special favors. Every line in it added to the living costs of the American consumer. When the iniquitous Schedule K of the Payne-Aldrich law was enacted, carrying an 11-cent duty a pound on wool, the whole country was aroused and drove the Taft administration from power. The defeat was decisive. Utah and Vermont were the sole Republican survivors. But this same reactionary group, under the inspiration of representatives of these twin states, ignored the facts of recent history and fastened upon the American people a tariff rate on scoured wool of 31 cents a pound. Tariff rates on countless other things were proportionately increased. Nothing escaped their deadly aim. In the framing of the law the time-honored Republican theory of equalizing the difference in cost at home and abroad was not considered. The only question asked was, How much protection do you want? The so-called representatives of the people surrendered completely to the representatives of the predatory interests and played with their masters the game of "tit for tat," to the betrayal of the American consumer and the replenishment of the Republican exchequer.

Not only did it add $4,000,000,000 additional burden upon the American masses, but it revealed the nation's hypocrisy toward war-torn Europe. We maintain highly organized and efficiently managed humanitarian organizations to raise and distribute to the world's oppressed. We sometimes invade the National Treasury, graciously to give to the needy of foreign lands. America has never been unmindful of any cry of distress that came to her from any part of the world. That is the spirit of the American heart. Yet this reactionary group that has brought ruin to the country and discredit to their party

employed every means to check Europe's rehabilitation and shackle her trade. Demanding payments on the one hand, they prevented them on the other. It was a policy that enriched the affluent and impoverished the needy. It closed the markets to our farmers and lifted the prices of their purchases. It tightened the grip of the favored few and dampened the hopes of the struggling many.

The doctrine of equal rights to none and special favors to some was never more firmly embedded than in the Fordney-McCumber tariff law.

As indefensible as are these two offsprings of governmental favoritism, they are not comparable to the Administration's ship-subsidy proposal. Projected in the winter of 1922, following the chilling frosts of that November election, it planned with the aid of an army of lame ducks, repudiated at home and fondled at Washington, to make "a quick get-away." They sought to lay upon the American taxpayer an additional burden of $850,000,000 to subsidize the Shipping Trust. Your Democratic representatives in Congress, aided by the patriotic progressives, withstood their mad onslaughts—for three months held them at bay, and through a highly organized filibuster prevented the passage of the measure.

In all the speeches delivered in the Cleveland convention, or in the platform there adopted, not a word was written nor a whisper uttered of the Administration's ship-subsidy proposal. If that proposal had become a law, the immediate appropriations to carry it into effect would have denied any reduction of taxes this year or in the immediate years to come. The Harding-Coolidge administration was willing to give millions to the Shipping Trust, but not one cent to the American soldier.

The platform of the Republican party and the speech of the temporary chairman of the Republican convention

proclaims the Budget law as a Republican accomplishment—the disarmament conference, the reduction of the number of governmental employees, the decreases in the amount of annual appropriations and the national debt as Republican achievements. It is regrettable that we cannot accord it this wild acclaim.

The Budget law was urged at the instance of a Democratic President and received the vote of every Democratic Representative. It was vetoed by the Democratic President only because an unconstitutional provision was included. It was then passed by a Republican Congress and signed by a Republican President in the proper and constitutional language suggested by the Democratic President in his veto message.

The disarmament conference was held, not because of a Republican administration, but in spite of the Republican administration. It was first suggested by a Democrat, and urged by Democrats. The fight was renewed by Borah, a Republican, yes, but one who wisely declined to become associated with the bankrupt Republican partnership in the coming campaign; one whose opposition to the reactionary control of his party has ever been constant and aggressive. Under his leadership, and over the most unrelenting opposition of the administration, the sentiment was crystallized, appropriate legislation passed, and the disarmament conference called.

It is true that during the more than three years this administration has controlled the Government the number of civil employees in the Government service and the annual appropriations have been reduced. Those reductions came, however, not because of any Republican reforms. They were the natural reductions that flow from a readjustment of abnormal conditions occasioned by the war. If we did not have bigger things to discuss, greater achievements to proclaim, and higher purposes to an-

nounce, we might claim that in eighteen months of Democratic administration, immediately following the war, not only did we reduce appropriations in larger amounts than ever did the Republican party, but we reduced the national debt by more than two and one-half billions of dollars and the number of civil employees by 300,000.

Amid all this deceptive cry of economy let it be remembered that this Republican party, during its less than four years of control, has expended $9,592,000,000 more than did the Democratic administration during the whole five years immediately preceding the war.

The American people have taken the measure of this administration. It might have been able to free itself from sectional idolatry and to have looked beyond the sky lines of New England. It might have heard the groans of the distressed farmers of the West and sympathetically responded. It might have sought markets and removed the tariff jams in the channels through which our surplus products move. It might have visualized world conditions and courageously assumed the part befitting a great nation. It might have reduced living costs, redeemed pledges to the soldier, followed a definite domestic program, and adopted a broad and statesmanlike foreign policy, but, even then, it would have availed it nothing with its carnival of corruption. The least that the American people expect of their public servants is common honesty. They will forgive their passivity, overlook their indiscretions, and, too often, forget their impotency, but to them corruption is inexcusable, graft is indefensible.

Pizarro and his adventurous band, as they set their faces toward the Golden West, were not more inspired in quest of treasure than this administration. They were looking for gold, heaps of gold, shimmering, gleaming gold. They did not wait to touch the nerves of mother

earth nor drag the current's flow in their mad enthusiasm; in greedy haste they grasped the sparkling sand, then cast it down with curses when they found the glittering grains were not of gold. From Cabinet head to Republican representatives in Congress, like a plague, the disease spread. It became epidemic, and while the world looked on, the great physician of this administration, in sullen silence, refused to prescribe a remedy or attempt a cure. Gallant soldiers, who never flinched in battle or cowed in action, who, like madmen, threw themselves into the jaws of death for the glory of their country, were robbed; widows' mites and orphans' pittances were stolen; seats in the United States Senate placed upon the auction block and sold like merchandise; natural resources secretly squandered; courts of the land mocked; congressional committees defied; and the scales of justice tipped by the weight of gold. Well do these subalterns of the Administration know that there is more blood in the body than mantles in the cheek, more profit in the office than is exhibited in the salary.

It is the brazen effrontery of this administration that challenges our attention. They would halt these inquiries by hysterical cries and foreboding predictions. They say, "You are hurting business," "You are destroying confidence." Our answer is, "We're helping business," "We are restoring confidence." "We are saving the Government by performing an operation to preserve the life of the nation itself." Theirs is the Spartan morality. Not the corruption but the discovery constitutes the crime. Instead of applauding the investigators, they make war upon the investigation. Instead of condemning the exposed and praising the exposure, they praise the exposed and condemn the exposure. Decry them as they will, the American people know that it was these investigations —conducted by Democrats, yes, but through Republican

committees—that sent Albert Fall to Three Rivers a disgraced man and proven criminal. It was these investigations that revealed such a gross indifference and utter incapacity in the Navy Department and compelled Edwin Denby's retirement from the Cabinet. It was these investigations that unfolded a condition in the Department of Justice that shocked sensibilities and drove Daugherty back to Washington Court House. It was these investigations that caused conspirators against their Government to take their own lives rather than tell the truth and unbosom the criminating secrets against their own criminal allies. It was these investigations that pointed to the immoral orgies of Forbes and sickening scandals in the Veterans' Bureau. It was these investigations that put a Republican congressman behind the bars and lashed Newberry from the Senate. It was these investigations that informed the American public that the first official act of Calvin Coolidge was the appointment of a private secretary who had traded and trafficked in public patronage. It was these investigations that led a Republican Senate to convict its own Republican National Committee for "framing" a Democratic senator because he dared to do the right.

In this campaign let the conscienceless leaders of this administration deride investigations. Let them accuse the Congress of deteriorating; let them continue to shield those who conspired against the Government; but in this dark drama the American people knew and prefer the highly patriotic and cleansing work of Thomas J. Walsh to the foul infamy and thievery of Albert B. Fall.

Nothing in burlesque or opera bouffe is comparable to the scene recently enacted at Cleveland in the efforts of the silent Sphinx of the Potomac to exile and expatriate those Republican senators who dared to oppose his man-

date. It is somewhat a pathetic story—the treatment there accorded our Republican senatorial friends.

"But yesterday the word of Cæsar might have
stood against the world;
Now lies he there, and none so poor as to do him
reverence."

They dared to vote an investigation of a member of the President's official family, and they are penalized for their decency.

They dared disregard the protest of the world profiteers to respond to the appeal of the soldiers who fought our battles on the fields of France, and they are punished for their justice.

By every device known to trained camoufleurs, by every subtle process of legerdemain, the Republican nominee, in true pharisaical fashion, sought to divorce himself from his former comrades in arms. The plan is obvious; the plot is futile. Neither the President nor his Falstaffian army, headed by General Butler and Sergeant Stearns, can conceal the ugly fact that the Cleveland convention was the most highly organized, boss-ridden and oleaginous ever held in America. The American people will not be deceived. They will not permit themselves to be used as pawns in a game of "hide and seek."

The mask is off. Piercing through the political machinations of that convention we see the sinister lips of special privilege. The leopard does not change his spots overnight. Neither can the Republican party be reformed by resolution nor by Presidential ukase.

The American people will know that they are dealing with a system; that even though Hanna, Quay and Penrose are dead, their spirits go marching on in the personages of the Three Musketeers of present-day Republicanism—Butler, Stearns and Slemp. These bosses are

doing business in the same old way according to the same old rule.

It was peculiarly appropriate that the Republican nominee should have conscripted one of the "best minds" from far-away Mexico to write the platform for this campaign and a lame duck to preside as the permanent chairman of the convention. Both assignments for that convention were most fitting—one was available because of the theory that "distance lends enchantment to the view" and his lack of knowledge of things that are; the other because he was the only public man in the United States willing to offer himself as a living sacrifice upon the senatorial altars of Wyoming in defense of the Teapot Dome.

The Republican organization is now trying to salvage something from the wreck of the old party. The proceedings and platform of the Cleveland convention portend the loss of the Congress, and they are now madly fighting to save the Presidency.

With an administration honeycombed with graft and corroded with corruption it is refreshing to reflect upon the innumerable Republican investigations into expenditures of the preceding Democratic administration. Following that period—the most momentous in our country's history—a period that called for the mobilization of our strongest and best, a period that necessitated the expenditure of $40,000,000,000 to prosecute and win the war—no similar period ever called for such a readjustment of governmental agencies and the prompt prosecution of expenditures. Following our country's triumph in arms and victory in the chancelleries of the world, through a campaign of lavish expenditures and appeals to the prejudices of groups, we lost control of the Congress. As soon as it was organized the Republican party inaugurated a scheme of investigations that were the most far-reaching and costly in the history of the Gov-

ernment. Fifty-one separate committees were appointed, controlled by fifty-one separate Republican majorities. They searched every Democratic record; they followed every hint. Like a dragnet, they mobilized every bit of gossip and ran down every rumor. Investigations covered the whole country and extended beyond the seas. What were the results? Where is the tainted dollar spent? Where was the defrauded soldier? Name the Democratic Cabinet officer disgraced. Those Republican investigations, partisanly and relentlessly conducted, did not point to a single act that reflected discredit upon any Democratic official. I call upon the Republican nominee, Calvin Coolidge; I call upon the members of the Republican Cabinet; I call upon every Republican member of Congress—I call upon the Republican party to name the Democratic culprit.

But it is not graft alone that offers in the two administrations such happy comparisons. During these little more than three years we have seen the present administration float along, tossed by every current, fanned by every breeze, without purpose, program or policy. Its leaders have not led, and its organization has not functioned. Upon a thousand issues they have hoisted the white flag of surrender. Amid all the confusion that has divided this administration domestic problems have gone unsolved. We have felt the slowing down of industry, the increase of unemployment, the diminishing purchasing power of the farmer's dollar. Starving herds, rotting grain and rusting spindles have not stirred the sleeping spirit or warmed the chilly coolness of the President. He has slowly traveled upon the vehicles of his paper vetoes, vainly protesting but not pressing forward to the task, assuming but not asserting, flinching but not fighting. In every issue he has quibbled; in every fight he has floundered. Never was party leadership so repudiated and the party so badly torn.

If it be Japanese exclusion, adjusted compensation for the soldiers, Mellon's taxation rates, development of Muscle Shoals, old soldiers' pensions, farmers' relief, or World Court, he stands forlorn, deserted, pilloried by his own party. As a candidate, what did he and his associates promise four years ago respecting international coöperation and the promotion of world peace? Let me read to you from the Republican literature of that day. Here is the historic appeal of the so-called thirty-one distinguished Republican leaders, including Charles Evans Hughes, Herbert Hoover, William Howard Taft and Elihu Root:

> "The undersigned, who desire that the United States shall do her full part in association with the other civilized nations to prevent war, have earnestly considered how we may contribute most effectively to that end by our votes in the coming election. . . . The question between the candidates is not whether our country should join in such association. . . . The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. . . . The Republican party is bound by every consideration of good faith to pursue such a course until the declared object is attained. . . . We therefore believe that we can most effectively advance the cause of international coöperation to promote peace by supporting Mr. Harding for election to the Presidency."

That was one of the spurious coins issued in 1920.

Through their miserable effort and vain meanderings to extricate themselves and their party from the morass of their own deceit, they have nauseated the American people by the pitiable spectacle they present. They aureole their promises with such beautiful rhetoric and vamp the truth to such an extent that they do not know

the direction in which they are going. Henry Cabot Lodge, who made Coolidge at Chicago and unmade him at Washington, "with rolling eyes spews fine speech about duty and like phantasmal fancies of his flighty mind," attempts to weave new webs of intrigue, and to again ensnare and mislead the American people. Too long has this cultured gentleman with his intriguing cohorts denied peace to a suffering world, and in their new-hatched World Court schemes an outraged people cannot and will not again be defrauded.

The lamented Harding, in his big-hearted, sympathetic way, sounded the tocsin call in his New York speech to enter the World Court. That was only a step, but a step in the right direction. It was merely a move, but a movement toward the broader and more inviting fields of peace, and he deserved the backing of his party and the coöperation of every peace-loving American citizen. Coolidge pledged himself to carry out the policy, and yet from the day he took up the task laid down by Harding he has made only a bow in that direction. The World Court at best can decide only international questions unanimously submitted to it by the parties to the controversy. Indeed, it is not necessary for them to abide by the decisions of the Court unless they agree to do so. And yet, simple as is the plan, earnest as are these nations that are coöperating to make it a success and draw to a broken world the light of hope and peace, the same serried ranks in the United States are pursuing their same indefensible tactics, bent on destruction and wreaking vengeance.

Recently they have gained a healthy new recruit in "Caius Cassius" Pepper, the distinguished keynoter and keystoner. They are not willing to employ their power and talents against our country joining the present World Court, but they seek to chloroform the existing plan, to

dismantle it, to destroy it. Thus, this unholy conspiracy against the peace of the world is carried forward, while silence, deep and impenetrable, broods over the Potomac. For months the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had this question before it. Numerous plans presented and sharp differences constantly arising between the advocates of each. And yet the President through it all did not raise his voice. No words of reprobation fell from his lips. He was as silent as the tomb. And not until the committee had taken action and the final curtain was drawn upon the closing scene of the Congress did he take the public into his confidence touching his views. And thus the silence of Calvin Coolidge is acclaimed by his votaries as golden. Grover Cleveland once said: "It is not the mere slothful acceptance of righteous political ideas, but the call to action for their enforcement and application that tests the endurance and moral courage of men." What America needs now is not a Sphinx, but a Paul Revere, to awaken it and call it back to duty and high resolve. Oh, for one in the White House whose heart might be melted and courage aroused to sympathize and to fight. Would that we might once more see in that exalted position one with the courage of a Jackson, the militant honesty of a Cleveland, the matchless statesmanship, far-flung vision and the fine fighting qualities of a Woodrow Wilson.

Would that we had in the White House the spirit of him whose heart of gold melted in the sympathies of the world—of all humanity—whose courage knew and gave no quarter, whose qualities of statesmanship caused him to catch the first whisperings of domestic disorder and visualize and prescribe for world unrest. It is the spirit of him who twice led us to victory and whose soul has taken its flight but whose remains now lie in yon crypt at St. Albans, the late Commander in Chief of the world's

greatest fighting forces in its greatest crisis, that will inspire harmony in this convention and assure victory in November.

How different were the foreign policies of our Government under Woodrow Wilson and under the Harding-Coolidge administration! It is the difference between a keynote and keyhole policy of statesmanship. In the good old Democratic days we did not send spies to peep in, but diplomats to sit in; not observers without authority, but representatives with credentials. One policy was definite, wise and brave; the other vacillating, halting and weak. We opened up new and broader markets, and the people of every clime were drawn closer to us. No humanitarian cause, no movement to check wars, settle disputes or promote world peace but promptly received the sympathetic consideration of this Government. It was through such a policy that America forged to the front among the foremost nations of the world. Glory was in the flag and prosperity in every industry. What a change has come about during these three long years!

Oil has become the Open Sesame of power. It gained admittance to the robbers' cave and participation in the plunder. It has been the inspiration of this administration's foreign, as well as domestic, policy. The magic significance of its flow has awakened the State Department to an interest not only in Mexico and the United States of Colombia, but away off in the Near East. Truly the administration might have boasted of two "Secretaries of Oil."

When the Christian women and children of Armenia were being wantonly given to the Turkish sword, when thousands of these Armenian followers of Christ, driven like cattle into exile, were dying of starvation and exposure in the highways; when Christian churches and Christian homes were being given to the flames and

ministers of the gospel importuned the administration for a note of protest, it was refused; but the moment the oil magnates of the land sought a concession in the oil fields of Mosul the administration that refused to intervene to save Christian lives, Christian churches and Christian homes went to the front with vigor and decision.

They who were indifferent when the lives of women and children were involved hastened to the conference with the Turks in pursuit of the Chester oil concession and became a party to the infamy of the Lausanne treaty —a treaty which abandons our missionaries to the Turks and betrays Armenia into the hands of the assassins.

Show this administration an oil well and it will show you a foreign policy.

With a world dismayed by disorder and steeped in sorrow we have waited patiently for this giant nation to assume its commanding part. But no; their leaders, like slackers moved by fear, have turned and run away. Amid all this world's confusion, with its broken spirit and lost confidence, with wreck and ruin throughout Europe, this administration has complacently looked on and skulked. Never before in all its history has America turned a deaf ear to the appeal of humanity or the call of civilization. Foreign countries have sought our advice. They have pleaded for our counsel; but, lo, their supplications have been ignored and their pleas rejected.

The Democratic party offers no apology for its foreign policies. When the Woodrow Wilson plan for world adjustment was wrecked by the selfish and jealous hands of reactionary Republican leadership, world hope for peace was shattered and European rehabilitation indefinitely deferred. The tragedy is, they wrecked our plan and offered nothing instead. This administration cannot escape its responsibility for the feverish condition of the world. What they are now seeking to do with repara-

tions should have been done years ago. Out in the progressive Northwest and throughout the great Western plains agriculture languishes for want of attention. Farmers are in the throes of despair. More than 600,000 in that great wheat section alone have been driven to bankruptcy during this administration.

Would you know the difference between normalcy and prosperity? Here it is:

In the Democratic year of 1917 the country experienced seven national bank failures.

In the Democratic year of 1918 the country experienced two national bank failures.

And in the Democratic year of 1919 the country experienced only one national bank failure.

Within less than four years of Republican normalcy more than 1,357 banks have failed and millions of people bankrupted.

During the first three months of this year 265 banks have failed, with total liabilities of over $100,000,000.

The distressing conditions that confront agriculture when other industries specially favored are prosperous should at least appeal to the stony hearts of this administration. But the Republican nominee and his reactionary followers in the Congress have not permitted any governmental relief being extended to them for the reason, as very impressively stated by the Republican nominee on December 6, 1923, in his first message to the Congress:

"Those farmers," he said, "who raise their living on their own lands are not greatly in distress." Those sentiments come from the heart throbs of the Republican nominee, and the present deplorable plight of the American farmer is due to callous indifference and their cowardly, isolated foreign policy. No economist but knows that this selfish policy, without vision, is responsible for

the dissipation of our foreign trade, the terrible plight of the farmer, and the timidity of business. Until stricken Europe revives we cannot hope for full settlement in our foreign debt. Allied payments to us depend upon German payments to them. But even though the reparations question may be settled and Germany exerts every effort to pay, how can she pay if she is economically shackled by America and the world? The German citizen can set his hand to work and from one end of that country to the other every furnace may be lighted, every factory wheel may whirl, every field be tilled, and every agency of commerce and industry work overtime, yet they cannot continue unless some market be found for their wares. There can be no market if the tariff gates are closed against her by other countries as are our own. Such a sordid policy of selfishness upon the part of this administration not only delays European rehabilitation, but forces upon the American masses higher prices for home-made goods. Custom receipts do not prove the success or failure of tariff laws. A tariff that in normal times might be prohibitive, in abnormal times is but a license to the conscienceless profiteer to extort from and gouge the American consumer. Exports from a country the purchasing power of whose money is worthless may be expected to seek those markets that offer the best purchases no matter how high the tariff. In the abnormal conditions of the world to-day the result is that with an exorbitant tariff our Government may perhaps get more revenue but the European seller will receive far less for his product, and the American consumer will be compelled to pay more for his purchase.

A record of promises fulfilled and pledges kept attests the loyalty of the Democratic party. The long list of unparalleled achievements of the Wilson administration are among the glorious assets of our party. It is a record

that should stir the soul of America and thrill every Democratic heart. What is that record?

A tariff law that bred no bounties and spawned no special privileges. A tariff law that sought no taxes from the tables of the poor but raised them from the fortunes of the rich. A tariff law that unfettered buoyant hope and fledged ambition's best efforts. A tariff law that transformed a weapon of oppression into an instrument of usefulness. A tariff law so nicely adjusted to world conditions that our international trade balance reached the highest peak in all its history.

Uninfluenced by war conditions, at its lowest ebb it gave to the United States a favorable balance of trade $380,000,000 more than the present indefensible law afforded at its highest. At its peak it exceeded by $3,000,000,000 the highest under the Republican law.

A Federal reserve law that emancipated banking from the domination of a moneyed monopoly and placed credits in the control of Government officials; a law so modern and so elastic as to meet the constant needs of trade and commerce and to act as a panacea against panics and a cure for industrial ills. A law which, the temporary chairman of the Cleveland convention said, "serves as a bulwark to the financial life of the nation and was so helpful during the war should be left alone." We will leave it alone, and not one of the pillars upon which it rests will be removed, but we will not permit a reactionary Republican leadership, dominated by selfish groups, to divert it from its real purpose and turn over its administration to its pliant tools.

A record that carved new lanes of trade and opened up additional markets.

A record that gave confidence to business and sent the sunshine of happiness and the glow of prosperity into every American home.

A record that filled the pay envelopes of all wage earners and piled high every bank with countless resources.

A record that lifted agriculture from the low depths to which the Republican party had tossed it to a commanding place in American thought and attention—a place at which credit and transportation facilities to the farmers were made available and the distribution, sale and marketing of their products assured.

A record that gave to the American farmer the only period in the history of the Government in which the purchasing power of his dollar was at a premium.

A record that filled public offices with men of character and not tools of corruption.

A record that protected the health of children and guaranteed the rights of women.

A record in which never before did the wheels of industry sing so sweetly and the flow of commerce move so smoothly.

A record that blazed the way to new heights of idealism, shot through with wise and humane policies.

A record of days when human rights were dominant, and through the force of our moral leadership America caused a spiritual awakening throughout the world. Those were mighty days. In every foreign capital America personified the highest and the best, and beneath the folds of its flag all peoples looked for shelter and protection.

With the small part of the record fresh in the minds of the American people we enter this contest determined to restore the Government to its rightful eminence.

We will wipe from its escutcheon the stains of this administration. We will restore dignity and integrity in public service. We will remove the scars of normalcy and revive prosperity. We will recover and conserve our

national resources. We will drive every rascal from high position and see to it that self-confessed and high criminals who now run at large unafraid shall not go further unwhipped of punishment.

An administration steeped in corruption and looseness in the observance of law naturally breeds immorality and disrespect for law.

The Democratic party will have neither pets to protect nor corrupt Cabinet members to coddle.

We will rigidly enforce the law, whether the violator be a bloated trust magnate, a congressional bribe taker, an embezzler of the public domain, or a disreputable bootlegger.

We will eliminate governmental favoritism and strike from the statutes every discriminating provision that takes from "the mouth of labor the bread it earns."

We will readjust tariff rates and reduce transportation charges.

We will lay bare campaign bribery and punish election frauds.

We will go to the relief of distressed agriculture and adopt such policies and pass such laws as will restore permanently the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar and again place it on a par with that of other industries.

We will remove from the administration of the civil service every influence of fraud and inaugurate efficiency in government.

We will put a stop to Republican procrastination and adopt a progressive reclamation policy.

Recognizing our obligations as a great humane power, we will assume in manly fashion our responsibilities to the world.

We will pursue the same high course that has ever inspired the leaders of Democracy, unterrified by those

who threaten to destroy and unmoved by those who seek selfishly to control.

Neither the cries of radicalism nor the threats of conservatism will swerve us from our fixed purpose. Democracy is the right way. It is the party that offers the safe middle course, patronizing no isms and paying tributes to no extremes.

It is the party that never bartered its birthright to serve the hour nor allowed expediency to dominate where right was involved.

It will wage war for the protection of the rights of property as zealously as it will battle against the guaranties of special privilege. At every cost it will defend the liberties and the constitutional rights of the citizen in the same sturdy way as it will assail bureaucracy and centralized government.

These principles are just as precious to-day as when they were proclaimed at Runnymede, revivified by the immortal Jefferson in the imperishable parchment of our Declaration of Independence, and indelibly written in everlasting terms into the Constitution of the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, may I say in closing that this is a Democratic year. Victory is within our grasp if we but reach out for it. Let us remember that too much is at stake for the hideous form of friction to frown upon this convention. Our guns and all our guns against the common enemy. Nothing must happen here to divide our councils or dampen our ardor. The fires of Democracy must not flicker. The hope of the people lies in the action of this convention. There must be no sulking; there can be no mutiny. Winning is not wicked. Strategy is no sin. Far better is it for the American people and the future of the Democratic party that in this convention we deny to ourselves some

vaunted expression or surrender some temporary advantage that we may succeed in this campaign than tenaciously to persist and lose.

A great duty and a high responsibility rest upon us in this solemn and critical hour of the nation's life. Every impulse of decency, of human sympathy, of fair dealing, cries out and urges us on to action—harmonious, militant, aggressive action. With struggling millions of men and women throughout the country calling upon us and humanity everywhere exhorting us onward, the great army of Democratic men and women will not retreat before the enemy upon the great battlefield of this campaign. We shall not fail.

No matter who may be the choice of this convention, we will rally around our leader, clad in the armor of a righteous cause, attracting to our standard all the forces of right until the flag of Democracy waves triumphantly from every rampart of the Government. And as we fight this great battle there will accompany us the invisible presence of the fathers of Democracy. It would seem now we can hear the soft voice of sweet reasonableness coming to us from Monticello, the voice of "Old Hickory" coming across the Blue Ridge from the Hermitage, and from that historic crypt at St. Albans we hear the mighty voice of Woodrow Wilson, wistfully calling to us: "To you, from failing hands, we throw the torch." "Hold it high!" "Hold it high!" "Carry on, carry on; keep the faith, keep the faith!"

NOMINATING SPEECH FOR JOHN W. DAVIS

BY JUDGE JOHN H. HOLT

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention:

We are not met simply to nominate a candidate, but to name a President, and it behooves us to consider well the character of the man we name.

During the coming election the American people will not vote their personal or party prejudices, but their citizenship, and in the hope of safeguarding and perpetuating institutions that have meant so much to them, and will mean more to their children and the world. Klans and creeds will be forgotten, and a triumphant democracy take up its march to victory.

Four years ago the American people anticipated that the party presently in power would give them some little relief from the burden of taxation incident to a world war, but to their disappointment and dismay they have discovered that the present administration requires practically as much money in a time of profound peace as Woodrow Wilson required to wage a world war. No relief has come except as a fighting minority has forced it, with a reluctant President following in the wake.

The greatest department of the Government in time of peace—the Department of Justice—has been prostituted to the petty politics of little men, a disgrace to the department, and an outrage upon the profession that is supposed to administer it.

The public domain appears to have been managed

upon the basis of bribery, and the people again despoiled, insulted and humiliated before the world.

Destined by nature to become the greatest maritime power in history, the present administration, early in its efforts at self-exploitation, convened the nations at Washington and proceeded in the name of religion and peace to destroy or weaken the American Navy, our only hope of security and their best hope of peace.

In this country of all others, and at this time most of all, the people will demand, and the Democratic party must find, a candidate who stands for America and understands her institutions, who, along the lines of true progressiveness, will strike the chains from industry and lift the leaden mace from off the breast of individual enterprise, to the end that the young men and the young women of this country may go forth and forward with untrammeled hands in the development of this great country and the betterment of its people, with the just expectation of a proper reward for their personal initiative, and restrained only by the channels and barriers of honest trade, commerce and endeavor.

If you could but for a moment catch the sound of those voices coming from the far-distant firesides of this country, where now not only the fathers, but the mothers, not only the sons, but the daughters, have begun to participate in the affairs of this nation, you would soon understand that the American people will never mistake license for liberty, or bureaucratic government for progress.

Our candidate must stand flat-footed on the Constitution and all its amendments, as well as for the enforcement of such laws as may be enacted in pursuance thereof; and he must further recognize, as every honest man now does, that the day of decent politics has come, when the owls and bats of political graft must hunt their

holes, and in whose administration there would be no room or hiding place for crooks.

Give us a man who will stand for a navy that will uphold the Monroe Doctrine and command the peace of the world, and with the consequent protection at home and resultant respect abroad, our flag would soon become the emblem and the hope of liberty and peace in every ocean and on every shore. Nor would this exclude you from any arrangement with other nations that might be deemed desirable, but would only amplify the American voice to such an extent that, when it should speak in any such conclave or League of Nations, it would be heard and heeded around the world.

Give us a man who will rescue the Department of Justice from the scorn of an indignant people, protect the public domain with the sword of common honesty, relieve the people from unnecessary taxation, and, in Heaven's name, simplify the machinery by which these taxes are levied and collected. If the rules and regulations now in effect emanate from the so-called "best minds" of the present administration, let us in the future have a little less genius and a little more common sense.

Our candidate must strike the shackles from business and hold the scales at equipoise between capital and labor.

I present to you a man who represents these principles, and who comes from a country upon whose people Washington relied in the darkest hours of the American Revolution, when a Continental Congress had all but given up the fight; a man who has the calm courage of a Cleveland and the progressiveness of a Wilson; a man whose public career in the halls of his own State Legislature, as well as in the halls of the Congress of the nation, and as attested by the open public records of both, has been spent in the people's cause. Neither has

his voice been heard or his vote cast in any other cause. And, as solicitor general of the United States, he became the trusted and victorious lawyer of the people in many of their controversies before the courts of last resort in the nation, and was finally selected as the representative of his country to the greatest court of Europe, where he illustrated the power and dignity of democratic simplicity, and was consulted and admired by all.

His private life and professional career are likewise before you, and I am here to say to you, as his neighbor, and one who knows, that both will stand the test of the violet ray of pitiless publicity without the disclosure of a single unhealthy spot. Thirty-six per cent of the delegates before me belong to a profession that knows that what I say in this behalf is a verity.

Nominate this man and, during the campaign, he will become a platform in himself and, after the election, a chief magistrate of whom every American would be proud.

I nominate John W. Davis, of West Virginia.

THE DEBATE ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
(Democratic Convention)

SPEECH BY NEWTON D. BAKER

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention:

It will be assumed that I would not venture to ask your consideration, at this late date, in this long convention, upon a minority report unless I felt that the gravity of the subject justified it.

I respect my associates on this committee. If, in what I am about to say, and in hurried speech, it should seem at any time that I am showing less respect than I should for the weight of their judgment, or the courage and earnestness of their purpose, I ask you to excuse in me what only accident could cause.

There is no subject on this earth, apart from my relations to my God and my duty to my family, which compares even remotely in importance with me with the League of Nations.

There are men and women in this assembly whom I have met in other conventions. There are people here with whom, for twenty-five years, I have marched and fought for causes which we deemed great. If, in that time, it ever seemed to you that I deserved or might sometime deserve your sympathy, support and help, give it to me now! I need it!

The man who ought to be pleading this cause is dead and lies in consecrated ground! All that is left here to state his cause, weak and inadequate—all that is here,

is what is left of me at the end of five days, with about two hours' sleep in each night of the five.

I do not like to appeal to your sympathy, but I do want to appeal to every emotion you have in your hearts, and to every thought that your intellects can generate, for we are now dealing with the greatest question, as the majority say in their report, that can possibly be considered by man.

Some of this discussion must be a bit technical, for, again asserting my respect for the majority, I venture to say that in no convention of a political character in the United States, outside of the one recently held in St. Paul, has so fantastic a proposition ever been proposed with regard to American constitutional practice as is put forward by the revolutionary report of the majority of the committee on this subject.

Examine with me just a moment now these two reports. What does the majority do? With praiseful and perfumed voice it lauds the League of Nations as a lover would describe his sweetheart. Everything that fanciful words and artistic and cunning expressions of praise can do is done to express the admiration and approval of the majority of the committee for the League of Nations. These praises, some of them chosen from the plank submitted by the Non-Partisan Association for the League of Nations, some of them out of drafts which came through me to the committee—pearls of praise gathered from everywhere—are strung together to make a priceless necklace of opinion upon the League of Nations!

Hear these encomiums. This is what the majority thinks of the League of Nations. They would have the Democratic party declare its confidence in the ideal of world peace, the League of Nations and the World Court of Justice as together constituting the supreme effort of

the statesmanship and religious conviction of our time to organize the world for peace. And so they do.

And then the majority goes on: "Further, the Democratic party declares that it will be the purpose of the next Administration to do all in its power to secure for our country the moral leadership in the family of nations which, in the providence of God, has been so clearly marked out for us." And so, in the providence of God, it has been, and so, my fellow Democrats, we should seek to recover it. I agree with them so far.

And now, after having said that there is no substitute for the League of Nations, that the world will be a wreck unless war is prevented, that the only path to peace is the League of Nations, that no other is possible of any kind—after having said all of these things, there is not one syllable in the majority report that proposes that the United States shall go into the League of Nations until after a fanciful, irregular, unconstitutional, revolutionary referendum shall have been held, operated either by postal cards, through the Census Bureau, or in some other way, and there is neither a statute nor a constitutional basis for a statute which provides for a national referendum.

I know what my associates on this committee thought as they sat over there and drew this. They said to themselves: "The people who will be in that convention at least are people who four years ago were willing to have died for the ideal of the League of Nations. We must speak well enough of it to satisfy their devotional affection for it." And so they have spoken, and then having marched through the dictionary with all these superb epithets of approval, they give it their benediction, but promise it no aid of any kind. They create this extraordinary situation: That the Republican party four years ago having been doubtful on the subject, has now

declared definitely against the League, while the Democratic party, according to the majority plank, is neither for nor against it. It is affectionately inclined, but not disposed to marry it.

And now what do they actually propose to do? Because this is the indispensable, the indisputable, the only path to peace, the supreme achievement of the conscience and intellect of the age, the greatest moral question of all time, therefore they propose that this thing shall be lifted out of politics and deposited—nowhere.

In order that it may thus be orphaned, lifted out of party politics, they propose—I beg you to listen attentively to this, and I ask lawyers particularly, men and women in this audience, to give to this the legal side of their mind as I read it: "To that end," they say, "it is wise and necessary and desirable"—not only wise and desirable, but "a necessary and indispensable prerequisite to take the sense of the American people at a referendum election, advisory to the government, to be held officially under an act of Congress, free from all other questions, and after ample time"—ah, there must be no hurry!—"after ample time for full consideration."

Great Heavenly Father, when Thou vouchsafest it to somebody to write the final dictionary, I pray Thee have put in it a definition of "full consideration" in terms of duration of time by the Senate of the United States.

"After ample time for full consideration and discussion throughout the country." This is added, you see. The country has got to discuss it after the Senate discusses it, and then after the country has discussed it, the Senate has to discuss it again. Am I right about this? Listen. This referendum election is to be held under an act of Congress, after full time for consideration and discussion throughout the country upon this question.

Here is what Congress, after it gets done discussing it, is going to submit to the people:

"Shall the United States become a member of the League of Nations upon such reservations and amendments"—mark "amendments" in your mind for a moment, for even Senator Lodge proposed no amendments but only reservations—"upon such reservations and amendments to the covenant of the League of Nations as the President and the Senate of the United States may agree upon?"

So you see the Congress is first to provide for the referendum after full consideration; then the people are to vote after full consideration, and then, after the popular vote, the Senate and the President are to take it up again for fuller consideration, or perhaps fullest consideration, and then sometime, when my son is dead on a battlefield that I have been trying to keep him from going to, they will have reached fullest consideration. And somebody, somebody will put up a tombstone over that boy's grave and over the graves of other boys, your boys, and on them will be written: "Died in battle after fullest consideration."

Ah, my fellow men and women, I am not talking to Democrats. I am talking to lovers of mankind. I sat in that room across the street for five days and nights and heard talk about "expediency" and "votes" until I am sick. I am talking about life and death and love and duty.

Make a memorandum of it, my brethren. We have no logic for luck. There is no calculus for expediency, but we do know how to do that which is right, and that is the only rule we need follow if we want to win and deserve to win in politics.

Well, let me proceed with this fantastic and extraordinary composition: After all these things—"fullest con-

sideration"—what is going to happen? Is anybody going to be bound to do anything? Oh, no! There is a provision here at the end, written as an afterthought with a pencil, as though the majority thought it was all done after they had had "fullest consideration."

But there is this afterthought as if it were a postscript to "fullest consideration" and it reads, P. S.—"Immediately after an affirmative vote we will carry out that mandate." Who? Nobody knows. In 1920 Senator Lodge—and I beg you to remember that when I use the name of Senator Lodge I am speaking, not of a person, but a malevolent institution— Why, my brethren, I judge from your applause that you are in sympathy with that? Then how are you going to execrate this when I prove to you that the majority are following Senator Lodge in their report twice in the evilest things of his life? They are substituting in the Democratic party the leadership of Henry Cabot Lodge for that of Woodrow Wilson.

How did Henry Cabot Lodge act about the World Court? Was he opposed to it? Oh, no! He praised it. He talked of how splendid it was, what an American idea it was, but he did not want to go into it the way the Constitution provided. He did not want to go into it the way that everybody else saw was the only way you could get there. He wanted to stay out by pretending he wanted to go in some other way. Then when he got caught with the goods, he got one of his fellow senators, Mr. Pepper, to see whether he could not devise a little less obvious way of staying out by pretending he wanted to go in. Now, my brethren, this platform committee and I have been working together for five days and we have not said a harsh thing to one another and have not thought one and I am not going to accuse them of having any such ulterior purpose as this with regard to the League of Nations. But some of them have been asso-

ciated with Republican senators for so long that they cannot think on a foreign subject.

Every time I told my associates in the committee room that I did not believe in this plan, their inevitable argument was: "Well, how are you going to get in? You cannot get a two-thirds vote of the Senate, can you?" And I have always said: "No, I cannot get it at once." "Well, how are you going to get in? Suppose you had an election and got the Presidency, you could not get in; you could not get two-thirds of the Senate." "No, not to-day, not to-morrow, but God's will will be done, even against refractory and reluctant senators. Togas are not permanent. What we need to do is to put this great thing in the place where the Constitution puts it, and make every member of the Senate march up to it about twice a day, so that we can notice those that are slow of foot; then we will get after them and put some speedier associates in their places."

Well, I am afraid I am taking too much time on that aspect of it. What is this they propose? Well, they propose a referendum. Now, the fathers who made our Constitution put no referendum into it. I am perfectly willing to discuss with anybody putting a referendum into the Constitution of the United States. I do not know where my mind would go if I considered that problem. I helped put one into the Constitution of Ohio and I want to keep it there and I like to work it. But the fathers did not put one into the Constitution of the United States and they gave neither express nor implied power to the Democratic party in convention assembled to put one in there for them. There is no authority for a referendum under the Constitution!

Now, of course, my brother Lucking is an extraordinarily able lawyer. He knows perfectly well that there is no constitutional authority for the proposed referen-

dum and he knows that if he were to try to write in here that this should be a compulsory referendum, and attempt to bind anybody, the proposal would be unconstitutional. I believe it is unconstitutional anyhow for the reason that under the Constitution Congress cannot appropriate money to be expended in having an extralegal referendum for the instruction of senators about matters upon which they are required to use their own judgment. When a senator takes an oath of office, he swears on the Bible that when a matter comes up for decision, he will vote according to his conscience and not according to the number of postal cards that have come in the day before.

My brethren on the other side, of course, would not have proposed a national election. At least they did not want to propose one that anybody could certainly call that, because they remember that the infamy of that malevolent institution whose name I do not like to use—that the infamy of Senator Lodge began some twenty or thirty years ago when he tried to establish federalized elections in this country and from that time to this, every Democrat has been on guard, and every time a suggestion has been made by anybody that we federalize, even an extreme outlying corner of the election machinery in this country, Democrats everywhere, and Republicans, too, for the most part, have risen to thrust that thing back where it came from. Yet here in their desperation to find some new way of proposing the first step that has ever been proposed in a Democratic convention, the first step toward federalizing the elections in the United States, they have now proposed that we have a national referendum election in this country under federal control!

They will say that that is not what they mean; that that is not what this provision says. The language used is that they are "going to take the sense of the people at a

referendum election, to be advisory to the government, to be held officially under an act of Congress, free from all questions of candidates, after ample time for fullest consideration," and so forth.

But after all, there can be but two possible proposals made as to ways in which such a referendum might be had. One of them is that Congress might request the legislators of the forty-eight states to hold such an election and to report the result to them. To this, the first objection is that the forty-eight legislatures would have to be convened and they do not all convene every year. Some of them are two years apart. So you see there would be time for a substantial amount of "fullest consideration" before the legislators ever got together. Then some of the legislators might not consent to do it. I cannot imagine that so long as Senator Lodge lives and Massachusetts continues to live under the smile, if there be one, of his favor, the Legislature of Massachusetts would call a referendum election in order to enable the good people of that state to show their contempt for the erroneous opinions of the malevolent institution. But if it be assumed that after a while the whole forty-eight states do get their elections called, it would at least be a matter of years, and all that must be done before the Senate and the President can begin to consider their reservations and amendments.

Now the other way proposed is, under the Census Bureau, to get the addresses of all the electors in the United States and their wives and adult children and send them postal cards and ask them to detach the attached return card or cards and send them back to the Census Bureau with their vote. Everybody knows—and these lawyers will not deny it—everybody knows that the federal government has not the power to send a vote to anybody except by sending it under the frank of the Census Bu-

reau, if nobody attacks the constitutionality of that expenditure of money.

They propose to have this postal card census. Out in the mountains, down in the valleys, over the plains, off in Alaska, who is going to tell the mechanics and farmers and lawyers and doctors, who get a load of mail every day, and who read very few return postal cards—who is to tell them what the referendum really is about, and stir them up to do their duty in such a case? The Republican party is opposed to it. The Democratic party, according to the majority plank, is to keep its hands off of it for fear it will stain it with partisanism. So that the proposed election is to be held without anybody advocating affirmative action and without any organization assuming the responsibility for seeing it properly prepared and carried through. When the votes come in and they turn out, as they inevitably would turn out, to be ten or fifteen or even fifty per cent of the voting population, who is to persuade these senators who want more time for "fullest consideration" that that number of votes is an adequate satisfaction of the requirement here? For, mark you, if you were to carry the next election under this program and got the President and all the senators who ought to be elected who are Democrats, and they all wanted to go into the League, and enough Republicans wanted to go in with them to take them into the League, every Democratic senator who is bound by this plank in the platform would be under the solemn obligation to vote to stay out of the League until all these complicated and impossible things are performed.

But will the proposal get votes? My brethren tell me I do not know anything about that and I do not claim to know much about it, but I do know this, that for the last three years, I have never made a single speech of any kind, in church or schoolhouse or in public hall, or

on the street corner or anywhere else, in which I did not stipulate in advance that whatever I might call the speech, I was going to talk about the League of Nations, and I did.

I know what the American people think about the League of Nations. It is the one subject of a philosophical and political kind, and Woodrow Wilson is the one subject of a personal kind, that bring men's hearts up with a jump whenever it and he are mentioned, and that is true not only of Democrats but it is true of Republicans. I know thousands of Republicans who are waiting to vote to get into the League of Nations, who realize the chaos, the despair that is in the world, the cruelty, the wickedness, the savagery of our staying out any longer, savagery to ourselves too, when they want us to get into the League of Nations. Now when we send them this platform what will they say? They will ask themselves: "If I vote the Democratic ticket will I get in?" The answer is "No." "Well, what will I get if the Democrats do get in?" "Well, you will get a referendum which the Constitution does not provide for, which is the beginning of a departure in our whole constitutional system which may hereafter be applied by this precedent to all kinds of legislation." "I will get that? But that is not what I want. I want to get into the League of Nations and I will vote for that but I am not ready to vote to change the constitutional precedents of the fathers and I will not vote to establish any such referendum procedure."

We will scare away tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of liberal Republicans who would vote with us for the League, who would go anywhere with us with the League, but who will not vote to change the Constitution and set up this precedent.

The Democratic party says it is the party of states' rights. We have always been until to-day. What are

states' rights? One of the rights that was given to the states at the time this federal union was made was that in the Senate of the United States, every state should be the equal of every other state. Wyoming should be the equal of New York and Rhode Island the equal of Pennsylvania. Then it was provided that in our foreign relations two-thirds of that body in which all of the states had equality of weight and representation should be necessary to effect our foreign affairs. But under this, one state with a large population in the referendum vote will acquire the weight of ten states under the Constitution. By this provision the weight of a state depends upon the number of people who vote and not upon this constitutional guarantee of sovereign equality in this sisterhood of states.

I have had some trouble with my brethren on the committee, or at least a difference of opinion. They think I do not go far enough in maintaining the rights of the states in some matters of police power, but they will not be able to tell you about me as I am telling you about them, that I have ever come before a Democratic convention and proposed in cold blood to abolish the senatorial equality and the dignity of the states by an indirection upon the Constitution.

And now, my brethren, what will the Republicans say about this? Let me run a Republican newspaper for you for about five minutes. To-morrow morning, should you adopt the majority proposal, there will be a black-faced headline in the principal Republican papers: "The Democratic Convention Repudiates Woodrow Wilson."

I do not claim that I loved Woodrow Wilson any better than you, because I know that I look into the faces of men and women who loved him totally, but I knew him better than most of you did because of the closeness of my association with him. I can imagine him looking

over my shoulder here and reading the majority proposal, and you can imagine the fine contempt upon his face when he is asked to give his consent to a proposition which amounts merely to this: "The Democratic party says to the people of the United States: 'We can no longer be trusted to announce and execute a policy; we are going to bless this proposal; we are going to lift it out of the contamination of political contact with us; we are going to turn it loose; we are not going to be for it except academically and theoretically, but as a militant party we are not going to fight for it.' "

Now if there is a man or woman in this audience, not only who ever knew Woodrow Wilson, but if there is a man or woman in this audience who ever saw him, they will know from the length of his face and the set of his chin that that was not the kind of leadership that Woodrow Wilson gave to a great political party.

The second day the newspaper will come out with this headline: "Weakness and Division on the League." Perhaps the second day these newspapers will give our history on this subject, and here is our history. Let me give it to you in short sentences:

Woodrow Wilson won the war.

Woodrow Wilson won the world.

Woodrow Wilson won the peace.

Woodrow Wilson died fighting for what he won for us. That is our history.

But these newspapers will say that in 1920 while the vigor of Wilson's spirit and the inspiration of his presence were still dominant over the hearts and intellects of Democrats, they declared in their platform that they were unequivocally for the League of Nations, but when, four years later, they came to write a platform they repudiated him and wrote down in hesitating and equivocating or doubtful phrases—no, they did not, they dumped

the League of Nations into the street, repudiated it with their blessing, it is true, but left it houseless, friendless, orphaned in an unfriendly world.

And does anybody suppose that if we nominated a candidate in this convention—and I suppose that we shall some time—does anybody suppose he can get away with the first interview he gives the press without being smoked out? I do not care who he is, I will call him XYZ; these are the unknown letters in Algebra. They will say: "Mr. XYZ, are you in favor of the League of Nations?" That will be the first question they will ask him. And if he says "No," then the tradition of Woodrow Wilson has ceased to bless the Democratic party. If he says "Yes" they will say: "Well, your party was afraid. Thank God they nominated a man."

My brethren, I have only one other observation I want to make to you. What becomes of men when they are afraid to say what they think? What becomes of parties when they abandon their ideals? Let me give you a couple of illustrations: Four years ago the Republican party abandoned its ideals. Where is it now? It lies, like Ananias and Sapphira, false to every promise, and the feet of the young men who are approaching to carry it out and bury it are heard at the door of the tent. And then, you will recall, there was a kind of notion that isolation was a popular doctrine. The great arch-apostle of that isolation was Hiram Johnson. Where is he now? I do not have definite information but I think I know. He is traveling, wearily and grieved, over the United States picking up his fragments and trying to fit them together.

(A voice—The same way with Coolidge.)

I am inclined to think that might happen, too. But, my brethren, let us be right. I have said all there is to say. My plank, the plank of the minority, proposes as

the policy of the Democratic party that we favor going into the League.

My plank is to go into the League the way the Constitution says we are to go. Their plank is one more Mount Everest to climb. Why do men go to Asia to find mountains? They can be found here every day. When the Senate was debating this question, they did not have any difficulty finding enough mountains under the Constitution. Why do these ingenious and industrious gentlemen go to obscure and Asian regions beyond the Constitution to find obstacles and more unscalable mountains to climb? The majority plank will not get votes because it is not right.

At the outset I stated that no subject on earth was of so much importance to me as this. Why? I am a middle-aged man and I shall never be called upon again for any profitable service in any other war, even though one were to come to-morrow. I am past the military age, but I have memories. On battlefields in Europe I closed the eyes of soldiers in American uniform who were dying and who whispered to me messages to bring to their mothers. I talked with them about death in battle, and oh, they were superb and splendid; never a complaint; never a regret; willing to go if only two things might be, —one that mother might know that they had died bravely and the other that somebody would pick up their sacrifice and build on this earth a permanent temple of peace in which the triumphant intellect and spirit of man would forever dwell in harmony, taking away from the children of other generations the curse and menace of that bloody fight.

If I could have kept those boys in this country I would have done it. The accident of a strange and perverse fate called upon me, who loved the life of youth, called upon me to come to your homes and ask you to give

me your sons that I might send them into these deadly places. And I watched them and shrank with fear and anxiety for them, and I welcomed the living back, oh, with such unutterable relief and joy, and I swore an obligation to the dead that in season and out, by day and by night, in church, in political meeting, in the market place, I intended to lift up my voice always and ever until their sacrifices were really perfected.

I have one other debt—I beg your patience while I pay it. I served Woodrow Wilson for five years. He is standing at the throne of a God whose approval he won and has received. As he looks down from there I say to him: "I did my best. I am doing it now. You are still the captain of my soul." I feel his spirit here palpably about us. He is standing here, speaking through my weak voice. His presence—not that crippled, shrunken, broken figure that I last saw—but the great, majestic leader is standing here, using me to say to you, "Save mankind! Do America's duty!"

THE DEBATE ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
(Democratic Convention)

SPEECH BY ALFRED LUCKING OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Chairman, Delegates of the Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen: This is a momentous question which these delegates are called upon to decide, and I hope, therefore, that they may be permitted to hear all that may be said in the very limited time which is allowed for the decision of a question which affects the future of our own country and of the world.

The only differences between these two reports are that the committee report is very short; the other very long. In fact, I thought when Mr. Baker was reading his minority report he was making a speech instead of simply making a report. The other and the main difference is that one provides for the carrying of this question to the American people, men and women, the majority report.

The other one provides that we shall plunge this question into the party political contest of this year, commingled and confused with forty or fifty other questions, so that when we get through with the election this fall, we will know no more about the sense and desires of the American people with regard to the League of Nations than we did after the election of 1920.

You know we are busy explaining all the while that the seven millions majority for Mr. Harding did not mean a rejection of the League; but the great mass of

people took it to be such because it was injected into the campaign by the candidates and by the platform. That is exactly what the minority report of Mr. Baker desires to do this year, and that is the only difference between the two platforms in substance. Both reports declare for the League of Nations. We declare that in order to get in, it is necessary, wise and desirable that the question shall be lifted out of party politics and submitted to the people themselves as a whole.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to say to you that the committee debated this for hours and for days, and to call your attention to the fact that the great majority of the delegates representing especially the great and important states of this Union, felt it was wiser and better to lift this question from party politics and leave it to the people themselves to vote upon and then they declared that they would be guided by that mandate from the people. The curse of the whole thing has been, with regard to the League of Nations, that it was plunged into party politics. That is what caused all our trouble. Our foreign policy should be free from local and domestic issues and from domestic politics. We should be as nearly as possible a unit in our foreign policy.

When Mr. Wilson went to Paris to negotiate that treaty and to organize the League of Nations, he ought to have had the united support of the American people. But he did not have it, and unfortunately he was stricken down before he could complete his work.

You will remember that in those days of struggle and debate, when that question was being agitated in the Senate of the United States and in the press of the United States, Mr. Wilson declared, "We will take a solemn referendum to the American people on this question." Unfortunately, he was not able to carry on and to complete or carry out the referendum.

MANY STATES FOR REFERENDUM

Now, I want to call your attention to some of the great states which by their representatives here have declared not that we should thrust this thing into party politics again this year, so that we would not know what the verdict of the people may be following a general election, confused in that way with forty or fifty other questions, but that we should commit it to the American people, and you will discover in the course of this debate by United States senators that it is practically the only way to get into the League of Nations. I will leave for Senator Pittman or somebody else to explain to you the reasons, if you do not understand them. This subject was debated for many hours, and the result was that at least three-quarters in number of the delegates represented here by their members on the Committee on Resolutions decided that the wisest course was to take the referendum to the American people—the great states of Alabama, Wisconsin, California, Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, North Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont and several others whose names I have not here before me.

Practically all the great states, by their representatives, felt this year that it was better and wiser to leave it to the American people by referendum.

We feel that if that question is submitted to the people free from all other questions, free from personal candidacies and personal ambitions, so that any voter, man or woman, can cast his vote or her vote intelligently on this simple question: "Shall America join the League of Nations?" we will sweep the country by at least 80 per cent,

and then either a Republican Administration or a Democratic Administration, no matter which, will be obliged, morally compelled, to follow the desires of the American people, and that is the only way to get it through the Senate of the United States.

Now I was thrilled—I was thrilled—by the magnificent demonstration which you gave for the League of Nations when its name was mentioned. Every man in this committee, I think, that spoke, and nearly every one said something, was in favor of getting into the League of Nations, but they took the wise and practical course of succeeding in doing so.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, another reason of very high importance is this: If we submit this question directly as a party question this year, we do again just what we did in 1920. We start millions of Republicans who want to join the League to arguing again on that question to try and defend their party's position.

You will remember that at Cleveland they decided that we should not go into the League of Nations, and in 1920 hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of Republicans who were really in favor of the League of Nations before that campaign began, gradually brought their consciences to support the Republican candidate by arguments which we have never wholly been able to get out of their heads. Now they are coming back to the League of Nations quite rapidly, but many have said to me, "We will vote for the League of Nations if we can vote for it, but we will not desert our party. We will not vote for Democratic candidates. We will not vote for Democratic policies on domestic issues in order to get into the League of Nations and desert our own party to do so."

You have got to have a two-thirds majority in the Senate of the United States in order to go in. You can-

not get in this year, no matter what the result of the election, by any possibility, and the only way that we can get in is to take a mandate from the American people, which will be accepted as significant and morally compelling by any and every Administration.

A few months ago there went to Europe by appointment of great private interests in this country, but not the Government unfortunately, three gentlemen known as the Dawes Commission, and they accomplished a wonderful work. They did not have even a Godspeed or a "God bless you" from the Government in Washington when they went. Now that it looks as if they had accomplished their great undertaking in Europe, the Administration at Washington seems to be anxious to climb on the band wagon and to claim that they had something to do with it.

The man on that commission who did the real work, whose gigantic abilities were utilized to formulate that plan, was a gentleman of this city. You hear the name of General Dawes; he is a good man, but he was good enough to say and square enough to say to the newspaper boys when they were asking questions—when he got back and was leaving the steamer—"You go and talk with Young; he knows more about it than anybody else; he is better posted than I am." Owen D. Young, head of the General Electric Company, was the real man to initiate the plan. He knows more on this question of the League of Nations and what we ought to do about it, I think it will be conceded, than any other man in the United States of America.

YOUNG BEFORE COMMITTEE

Mr. Young was before our committee and for an hour or more he was listened to with the most profound respect, and the committee regarded very strongly every

word that he had to say. As there was left open a little bit of question in so long a discussion, where so many matters were involved, I wrote a note to Mr. Young to ask him two specific questions. By the way, he is an ardent Democrat, although not in politics at all. I asked him whether he thought it would be wise to make that a party issue this year.

I will not read my letter; it is quite long. I am going to read his. I asked him whether he deemed it wise to make this a party issue this year, and what he thought about the idea of declaring strongly against the insane isolation policy of the present Administration and in favor of coöperation, in favor of the League, and then leaving it to the American people to decide the question themselves.

And here is his answer:

"Dear Mr. Lucking: I have thought so much on the questions which you ask in your letter of this morning that I have no hesitation in answering them.

"I think it would be most unwise, both in the interest of the League itself and in the interest of the Democratic party, to make the issue of joining the League so direct in this campaign that America's attitude would be irrevocably determined by the result of it. I say in the interest of the League, because this will be a year in which domestic issues will necessarily overshadow foreign ones, and unless we are very careful in the platform we will force a large and increasing number of Republicans to vote against the League, which they really favor. I say in the interest of the Democratic party, because a platform which, as to foreign policy, condemns isolation, weakness and inaction on the one side, and stands for initiative, coöperation and courage on the other, will draw to the Democratic party the votes of

all people who put the question of foreign affairs above mere partisan domestic issues.

"I repeat the clause on the League which I submitted yesterday as expressing exactly my views as to how far the Democratic party should go. That clause is as follows:

" 'More specifically, the Democratic party favors co-operation with or participation in such organizations, including the League of Nations, as may be helpfully functioning in the social and economic rehabilitation of the world on such terms as will, on the one hand, protect the sovereignty and independence of our Government, and, on the other, enable it to render its full service and receive its full benefits from the common and enlightened action of all the nation.'

"Answering specifically your second question, I believe that if the American people had the opportunity to vote directly on the question of entering the League free from domestic politics and personal candidacies, great numbers of Republican men and women would vote in favor of the League, who, in a general election, would vote for the regular Republican candidates no matter what was said in the party platforms on this subject.

"I am so much a believer in the League and so strongly convinced that it is essential to the welfare of this country and the world, that I should be unwilling to put this great instrumentality, embodying the high purposes of Mr. Wilson, to any test less than a non-partisan referendum to the American people. In fairness to the future peace of the world and to his memory, let the direct referendum to the American people be upon the high ideals for which he stood and not be mixed up in a general election, with charges and countercharges relating to such degrading and shameful things as corruption in public office. Yours very truly,

"Owen D. Young."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, aside from the fact that it will be better in every way for us in joining the League, a better method, more sure than a direct plunge of this into politics this year—aside from that there is unquestionably some question of political expediency involved. It does not affect me, because three years ago, directly after the vote of 1920, I, in a public address, advocated, after pointing out that the former vote was not upon the League—I advocated a referendum to the American people.

And moreover I say to you, nearly all the candidates for these high offices, among whom we are to select, favor keeping this out of party politics this year and leaving it to the American people. Some of them possibly may be before you—at least you will hear more about it.

If we take that referendum, I feel sure—and I am fortified by what many men traveling over the country say—that if we can only lift it out of party politics, we will get 80 per cent of the vote favorable to our going into the League, so long as you do not offend Republicans by compelling them to vote some other ticket besides their own in order to bring it about.

We will get the women of this nation very largely favorable to our going into the League. We will get nearly all the Christian people of this country; that is, provided they can vote on the direct question, "Shall we join the League of Nations upon such terms and reservations" and so forth, and we will get the hard-headed old taxpayers who know that 85 per cent of all of our national taxes are caused by war, past, present and future. I yield any further time I may have.

THE DEBATE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE KU KLUX KLAN

(Democratic Convention)

SPEECH BY WILLIAM J. BRYAN

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Convention: It is now twenty-eight years since Democratic conventions became gracious enough to invite me and patient enough to listen to me, and I have not words in which to express my gratitude for the love and loyalty of millions of Democrats who have been my co-laborers for more than a quarter of a century.

I have spoken to you on many themes, never on themes more important than to-day; and since they take applause out of my time, and since I am speaking to your hearts and heads and not to your hands, keep still and let me speak to you.

I have only a short time in which to lay before you the arguments that seem to me pertinent to this occasion, when we are about to decide not only the line of our campaign this fall, but in which we may affect larger things than parties.

Let's understand each other. Let's eliminate the things that are not in this issue and come down to the three words that these, our good friends, as honest, as patriotic and as anxious for the welfare of the party, take out of the language and exalt above any other three words that will be used in this campaign. Note, my friends, that they take our report, every word of it, and note also that

we offered to take every word of their report, but three. We said: "Strike out three words and there will be no objection." But three words were more to them than the welfare of a party in a great campaign.

You have listened to the applause when we have had read to you the best Democratic platform that was ever written, the noblest principles that have ever been written into a platform. We have there pleas pathetic for people in distress, but none of our principles, none of our pleas stirred the hearts of these men like the words, "Ku Klux Klan."

I call you to witness, I call you to witness that these men never took the standards of their states and marched when we appealed on grand principles. It was only when they said the Ku Klux Klan, that's the only thing—

WALSH THREATENS TO CLEAR GALLERIES

Citizens of New York, you show your appreciation of the honor we did you in holding our convention here.

Let me place before you the five reasons which I submit to your judgments and your consciences. First, this plank, these three words, are not necessary.

There is not a state in the Union where anybody whose rights are denied can not go and find redress, not a state in the Union; and the Democratic party in its platform, the part of it on which we all agree, in words as strong as can be written, with emphasis as great as can be employed, puts all the strength of party back of every right, and especially back of the right of religious liberty for which we stand, as well as those who call us cowards because we do not take three words with which they seek to conjure.

It is not necessary, I repeat, first because the laws protect every one. Second, it is not necessary to protect any church. I, my friends, have such confidence in

the Catholic Church, which was for over a thousand years my mother church as well as yours.

It was the Catholic Church that took religion from its founder and preserved it, the only custodian, for over a thousand years. And when they did it for the Catholic, they did it for me and for every President.

EMPHASIZES THREE OBJECTIONS

The Catholic Church, with its legacy of martyred blood and with all the testimony of its missionaries who went into every line, does not need a great party to protect it from a million men. The Jews do not need this resolution. They have Moses. They have Elijah. They have Elisha, who was able to draw back the curtain and show upon the mountain tops an invisible host greater than a thousand Ku Klux Klans. And both the Catholic Church, as well as the Jewish faith, has its great characters to-day who plead for respect for them, and whose pleading is not in vain. It is not necessary, and, my friends, the Ku Klux Klan does not deserve the advertisement that you give them.

The minority, the fourteen members of our committee, who could not join with us in a report that would leave out these three magic and mystic words, have raised the Ku Klux Klan to a higher altitude than the Ku Klux themselves ever raised their fiery cross. Mr. Colby tells you that this is a transient organization; that it will soon die. If that be true, then, really, my friends, the motto of the minority ought to be, "Hurry up if you would see George, he is nearly gone."

My friends, one objection that I have to making this issue the paramount issue of this campaign is that I am not willing to lift up the dying embers and start a prairie fire and carry this Klan into every congressional district of the United States.

My third objection is that we have no moral right to let them divert us from as great a mission as our party ever had.

They say we are cowards. My friends, it requires more courage to fight the Republican party than it does to fight a Ku Klux Klan. Here we have farmers driven into bankruptcy, a million driven from the farms in a single year. We find monopoly spreading. We find nearly every great line of industry in the control of gigantic combinations of capital.

And while we have distress in this country that cries aloud for relief and while we have a war-worn world across the Atlantic that needs our help and needs our guidance, these minority men say that we lack courage if we do a big work instead of starting out on a little hunt for something which is nearly dead and which will soon pass away.

FEARS DISCORD IN PARTY

You may call me a coward if you will, but there is nothing in my life to justify the charge that I am a coward. But, my friends, I would rather have the anathemas of these misguided Democrats than have to answer on Judgment Day for a duty disregarded and a trust deserted. Anybody can fight the Ku Klux Klan, but only the Democratic party can stand between the common people and their oppressors in this land.

Then, I am not willing to bring discord into my party. The Democratic party is united on all the economic issues. We have never been so united since I have known politics, and nobody has had more reason than I to regret discord. Now, when we are all united and all stand with a dauntless courage and enthusiasm never excelled, these people tell us that we must turn aside from these things and divide our party with a religious issue and

cease to be a great political party. Why, they tell us that if we do not do so and so, the Democratic party is going to lose a large number.

My friends, if the Democratic party will lose a considerable number because it insists on being what it has been, how many will it lose if it tries to be what it has never been? The Democratic party has never been a religious organization. The Democratic party has never taken the side of one church against the other. The Democratic party must remain true. It cannot surrender its right to exist and the mission that was given to it in the days of Jefferson, that it remained true to in the days of Jackson and to which it was still loyal in the days of Woodrow Wilson.

But, my friends, I have left for the last what I regard as the greatest argument. If the Democratic party is diverted from its duty some other party will take up its task.

But no party that takes up a noble task will find its leaders in the gallery to-day.

NOT WILLING TO DIVIDE

I repeat, that if our party is turned aside from its transcendent duty as champion of the rights of the masses, another party can take our place. Even if our party were destroyed, another party would grow up to do its work.

And now I want to tell you my last and strongest objection, and let the galleries scoff if they dare: I say I am not willing to divide the Christian Church when we ought to stand together to fight the battles of religion in this land.

My friends, I am not responsible for your opinions. I am for mine. I have tried to defend the Democratic party because of all I owe to it. It took me up when I

was ten years younger than any other man had been when he was nominated by a great party, and it found me in a western state, farther West than it had ever gone before, and it gave me a million more votes than it had ever given any Democrat before, and it nominated me twice afterward, and I never had to use any money, and I had no organization.

The Democratic party has done more for me than for any other living man, and, my friends, I am grateful. I cannot express my gratitude. I can paraphrase the words that are familiar when I express my sentiments:

"Partisans, spare that party, touch not a single bough;
In youth it sheltered me and I will protect it now."

But, my friends, much as I owe to my party, I owe more to the Christian religion. If my party has given me the foundations of my political faith, my Bible has given me the foundations of a faith that has enabled me to stand for the right without stopping to count how many stood to take their share with me.

My father taught me that I could afford to be in a minority, but I could not afford to be wrong on any subject. He believed in the Bible and in God, and he believed that God stood back of every righteous cause with an arm strong enough to bring victory to his side; and that has been my faith. And, my friends, I believe religion is of more importance than politics, and I believe the world needs now not so much to get into a fight between denominations as it does to get back to God and a sense of responsibility to God.

Burglars stole $65,000,000 in a year and pickpockets stole nearly as much, and bank robbers and bandits took large sums; but the swindlers took $2,000,000,000, ten times as much as all the people in the penitentiary took. Isn't it worth while, my friends, to unite the Christian

Church in behalf of the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, instead of dividing them into warring factions?

WOULD TEACH KLAN IT IS WRONG

The world is coming out of the war, the bloodiest ever known. Thirty millions of human lives were lost; $300,000,000,000 of property was destroyed, and the debts of the world are more than six times as great as they were when the first gun was fired. My friends, how are you going to stop war? Oh, they say, commerce will do it; but commerce did not do it, and commerce reached its highest point just before the war began.

They said education will do it; but education did not do it. Education reached its highest point just before the war began. Some say science will do it, but science did not do it, for science had reached the highest point just before the war began. Yes, my friends, science instead of preventing war, mixed the poisonous gas and made the liquid fire. It was science that made war so hellish that civilization was about to commit suicide.

Science cannot do it. There is only one thing that can bring peace to the world, and that is the Prince of Peace. That is, my friends, the One who, when He came upon the earth, the angels sang, "On earth peace, good-will toward men."

My friends, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, stand for God, on whom all religion rests, and Protestant and Catholic stand for the Prince of Peace. Is it possible that now, when Jesus is more needed, I say the hope of the world—is it possible that at this time, in this great land, we are to have a religious discussion and a religious warfare?

Are you going, my friends, to start a blaze that may cost you innumerable lives, sacrificed on the altar of re-

ligious liberty? I cannot believe it; I call you back in the name of our party, I call you back in the name of our God, I call you back in the name of the Son of God and Savior of the world. Christians, stop fighting, and let us get together and save the world from the materialism that robs life of its spiritual values.

It was Christ on the Cross who said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And my friends, we can exterminate Ku Kluxism better by recognizing their honesty and teaching them that they are wrong.

THE DEBATE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE KU KLUX KLAN

SPEECH BY BAINBRIDGE COLBY

Mr. Chairman, Fellow-Democrats:

I am somewhat accustomed to the political cowardice that seeks to evade the issue of the Ku Klux Klan, but I confess to my surprise to be seated on this platform, a witness to the hardihood—or shall I say effrontery—of its open defense.

When I heard Mr. Homer Cummings describe the touching circumstances under which the Committee on Resolutions adjourned this morning at six o'clock, how its perplexed members had sought guidance in that best of all resources in times of doubt and confusion,—prayer—prayer to the Higher Power whence light proceeds,—I thought we must be standing upon the brink of some terrible thing.

I shuddered for the fate of the party. Hovering disasters took phantom forms which thrust at my composure and weighed down my spirit. But it was a false alarm. No danger lurks. The situation so gravely depicted does not present a single element of difficulty. Let us be calm and see what it is. We have two resolutions presented here for our consideration, one by the majority of the committee and one by the minority. I find that both resolutions have the same objective, the same motivation, the same purpose. Both are aimed at that misguided and furtive political conspiracy known as the Ku Klux Klan.

The Governor of North Carolina admitted that the purpose of the two resolutions was identical a moment ago in his speech from this platform. But while conceding the anti-Klan intention of the majority resolution he commends the deftness of its authors in avoiding any reference to the Ku Klux Klan. It refers to the Constitution; the right of assembly; the right of free speech; it contains something about the importance of obeying the laws; it offers some pious dissuasions against any agitation looking to the curtailment of religious liberty, but, strange to say, it says nothing as to the avowed purpose of the resolution. It is without suggestion as to the motives of the resolution, or why it was deemed necessary. Its language contains no clue as to what it refers to.

Now what sort of a Committee on Resolutions is that?

Is it not manifest, my friends, that you cannot discuss a subject without making some allusion to it?

Mark you, there is no conflict between the majority and the minority report. There is no difference of purpose or design. There is no clash of words. There are no sentences to be reconciled. As General Pattengall has pointed out, the minority report accepts all that is contained in the majority report without change. It does not reject any of the latter's recitals merely because they lack aim and are of obscure purpose. It carries all such dead weight along and tacks on a little postscript which refers quite simply to the subject of the resolution, or I should more correctly say, of both resolutions, namely, the Ku Klux Klan.

Does it take any courage, my friends, or at least any courage that is worth talking about to brand this un-American, this poisonous, this alien thing in our midst, with the disapprobation which all true Americans must feel toward it? Is it strange that this feeling of disap-

probation should well up in a convention of the party of Jefferson and demand explicit and clear expression in the document which purports to define the party's position on public issues and pending questions?

I repeat, it is an un-American thing. It is hateful to the genius of our history and our institutions. It is in conflict with every precept of Americanism that has come down to us from the fathers of our country. Why should we approach this question with faltering accents? Why should we seek to express the indignation which in our hearts we feel, in caressing terms that will not offend the sensibilities of those whom we denounce? I, for one, profess no sympathy with gentlemen who move only in the dead of night, only in the deep disguise of pillow cases and flying shrouds.

These are not the habiliments of self-respecting men. They are not the garments of courage and, thank God, they are not the uniform of any Americanism with which I am familiar.

I heard a fine old clergyman of homely type preach a sermon sometime ago on the text, "Say so." To illustrate his meaning he said: "If the wife of your bosom puts a raisin-studded rice pudding in front of you when you come home at night, sullen, morose, baffled by some failure during the day and wishing to be silent and undisturbed, and you look into her face and see her cheeks reddened by the heat of the stove as she has hung over it in ministry to your wants, and then if you bite into that pudding and it tastes good, for God's sake, say so."

If you are opposed to the Ku Klux Klan, for God's sake, say so.

And I would say so with equal emphasis, to any other secret organization which seeks to bind men in secret support of any measure of racial or religious proscription.

We are the only party that America can look to to-day for high-minded action, for action dictated by principle, for any brave and generous declaration. The Republican party is a moral bankrupt.

As a party of moral leadership it has ceased to function. It has curled up like a 'possum hoping to escape commitment on every vital question that confronts the nation, and seeking a circumspect straddle for everything that puts it in mind of a principle.

The Democratic party is the only party to which America can resort for the expression of its moral feeling, for the service of its deep convictions, and for the assertion of those immortal and unchanging principles which underlie our security and our happiness.

I am opposed to the majority resolution because it does not express the thought or the feeling of this convention. It apes the disguises of the Ku Klux Klan itself, hooding its meaning in ambiguity and wrapping its purposes in the flowing folds of irrelevant generalities. I am opposed to the majority report because it is an obvious, stuttering, stammering failure—a failure to say what it means, to do what it purports to do.

Now, my friends, this is not a religious question. No sectarian passion should mark its discussion. The question involves our civil rights under the Constitution—your rights, my rights, the rights of all citizens. The Constitution declares that our privileges and immunities as citizens of the United States shall not be abridged. No individual has any privilege or immunity except as he derives it from the common right, with which all are invested—the right under the Constitution to life and liberty, and to protection in the enjoyment of civic and religious freedom.

The signers of the minority report are accused of injecting the religious and racial question into the delibera-

tions of this convention. The authors of the Constitution might with equal justice have been visited with the same reproach when they injected the question into our fundamental law, and in words that will never die declared that American liberty is not a matter of race or religion.

Did I say "injected"? Why, this question has marched into our midst, unannounced, through open doors. It ranges up and down the aisles of this great hall. Mysterious words of threat and command are uttered in our hearing. The machinery of unlawful, secret and concerted action is operating amongst us in open contempt of the foundation principles of our civil liberty.

Does the majority report perceive this challenge? Yes, but it runs away. Therefore, as a Democrat, I wish to record my dissent to the majority report. It does not satisfy my thought. It does not satisfy my manhood. It is not creditable to the Democratic party.

The Democratic party is not prone to run from vital questions. When it speaks, it is in tones that are clear and like a bell. It is a party that fears nothing, if it knows that it is right. And it has had its full measure of those triumphs which follow only in the wake of valor and simplicity and elevation of spirit. We like to speak of the Democracy as undaunted, as indomitable. If we are to be a party that shirks its duties, we must take leave of these fine adjectives.

I advocate the minority report because it is true, because it expresses the thought and feeling of this great assemblage, which after all, is only representative of the far greater mass of our citizenship, outside the precincts of this convention, which is following our proceedings with close attention and deep interest.

Do we not all recognize in the Ku Klux Klan one of

those passing manifestations of ignorant and misguided energy, which at intervals in the past, have disfigured our history? It is a sort of distemper or disease.

The movement must disintegrate because it is morbid and irrational. I venture to say there is no man in this convention who would not regard the open accusation that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan as a reflection upon his standing and his character. He would, for the sake of appearances at least, feel obliged to resent the charge. That is why the members of the Klan cover up. That is why they act at night. That is why they mask their features and conceal their identity. Men who feel a little sheepish are apt to act that way.

It cannot be, my friends, that such an organization can maintain a place in American life, and I venture the confident prediction that in a surprisingly short space of time, its deluded members will recover their good sense. The time will soon come when you will not be able to find a Ku Klux Klan member. You will not find a man who will deem it expedient even to remember that he ever was a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

This is a very simple issue. I cannot understand the excitement of the Committee on Resolutions in its approach to the question. It reminds me of a famous critic's remark about Meredith's novels. Said he: "As you turn the pages of one of Meredith's romances, the suspense of the author is almost unbearable."

And as I have heard the quavering accents with which the majority report has been defended, I feel that the Committee on Resolutions is in the grip of fears which are wholly its own and not in any degree shared by this convention.

Come, my friends, be not afraid. Let us be right and go forward.

It would be a retreat, a betrayal, a desertion of Democracy for us to do less than to adopt this minority report and thus incorporate in our platform its simple, unmistakable and patriotic declarations.

United States Senate

July 3, 1924.

To the
Conference for Progressive Political Action,
Cleveland, Ohio, and
La Follette for President Committee,
Chicago, Ill.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

A petition of some two hundred thousand Progressive voters has been presented to me, requesting that I become a candidate for the office of President of the United States. At the same time the Executive Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action has asked me to make a statement of my position in regard to the campaign which they desire to submit to the representatives of several million voters assembling in the city of Cleveland on the 4th of July.

To those who did me this honor I should make an unequivocal reply announcing the decision which I have reached after long deliberation regarding my own proper course of action.

As appropriate courtesy to the delegates assembled in Cleveland and the representatives of the petitioners who have come to Washington, I am sending by special messenger a statement for presentation to the conference in Cleveland in order that it shall simultaneously be delivered to both.

Robert M. La Follette.

OFFICIAL STATEMENT

OF

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATE

FOR

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

In the most momentous crisis which has confronted the nation in our time, you have called upon me to accept the leadership in a national political campaign to wrest the American government from the predatory interests which now control it, and to restore it to the people.

I realize this summons comes to me in no sense as a mere personal tribute. The American people are thoroughly awake to the real issues with which they must deal, and recognize the failure of the two dominant parties to meet them. They know that the principles involved in the campaign are greater than any individual or any political party. It is only in so far as my public record squares with those principles and meets those issues that I can be of any substantial service in the Progressive movement.

I conceive it to be the first duty of every political party and of every candidate to state plainly and specifically to the American people the terms upon which their suffrage is invited. The Republican and Democratic parties have failed in this obligation. The Progressives must deal honestly and openly with the people.

THE HOUR HAS STRUCK

After long experience in public life and painstaking consideration of the present state of public affairs, I am convinced that the time has come for a militant political movement, independent of the two old party organizations, and responsive to the needs and sentiments of the common people.

I should be unwilling to participate in any political campaign at this time which would imperil the steady advance of the Progressive movement or diminish the number of true Progressives, nominally elected as Republicans and Democrats, who are now serving the public in the House, the Senate, and in many of the state governments. *The ground already won must not be abandoned. We must consolidate our present gains and press forward, without compromise or surrender.*

The necessity for an independent Progressive movement lies in the failure of the two old parties to purge themselves of the influences which have caused their administrations repeatedly to betray the American people.

THE PEOPLE ARE PROGRESSIVE

The rank and file of the membership of both old parties is Progressive. But through a vicious and undemocratic convention system and under the evil influences which have been permitted to thrive at Washington, both party organizations have fallen under the domination and control of corrupt wealth, devoting the powers of government exclusively to selfish special interests.

An analysis of the platforms adopted by the two old parties will show that the real issues have been ignored and that *the candidate of either party, if elected, will go into office with no specific pledges whatsoever binding him to the people, while he will be under the most*

immediate necessity and obligation of serving the party bosses and predatory interests to whom he owes his nomination and upon whom he must rely for election.

The Republican Convention at Cleveland scornfully rejected the only Progressive platform offered for adoption and nominated a candidate who is the frank defender of the present system of government in the interests of organized wealth.

The Democratic Convention was forced, out of consideration of political expediency, and through the efforts of sincere Progressives within the party, to take less openly reactionary ground, but the platform adopted at New York does not meet the demands of the Progressive millions of the nation. The fact that the Resolutions Committee at that convention, controlled by proven reactionaries and trusted agents of organized wealth, accepted the platform declarations on economic issues without a dissenting vote on any plank, is sufficient testimony to the character of the Democratic platform as an evasive and dishonest document.

OLD PARTIES BETRAY PLEDGES

But even if both Republican and Democratic conventions had adopted thorough-going Progressive platforms, the American people have learned that neither party can be trusted to keep its promises. Both parties within the last quarter of a century have regarded their platforms, as they regard them today, not as a contract with the people and a program of action, but as devices to catch votes and to gain political office, with all its opportunities for personal aggrandizement and private profit for those who are willing to betray a public trust.

To break the combined power of the private monopoly system over the political and economic life of the Ameri-

can people is the one paramount issue of the 1924 campaign.

If the Progressives will but unite with a single purpose to meet this issue fearlessly and squarely they may rely with entire confidence upon the support of the plain people who are the victims of the present system and who have the right and the power, through the ballot, to control their own government.

The people have already given proof by their election of Progressives to the Congress and to state offices that they recognize the real issue that confronts them and understand its magnitude.

SPECIAL INTERESTS CONTROL GOVERNMENT

They know that their government at Washington is now, and has been for a quarter of a century, in the hands of small but powerful groups, acting together and controlling it in their own interests.

Each group dictates production and prices in its own fields—in iron, coal, oil, steel, lumber, sugar, meats, clothing—in short, in mining, manufacturing, transportation, and all important business enterprises. Through grain exchanges, elevator combinations, and packing monopolies the markets are manipulated and prices fixed on all products of the farm.

Within the last twenty-five years it has thus come about that these powerful groups, through the control of markets and prices, have doubled and trebled the cost of sustaining human life—of housing, warming, clothing and feeding the American people.

The American people are honest, intelligent, patriotic, industrious and frugal. *And yet in a land of untold wealth, dedicated to the principle of equal opportunity for all, special privileges to none, life has become a desperate struggle for the average man and woman.* The

millions who work on the farms, in the mines, in transportation, in the factories and shops and stores, with all their industry and saving find themselves poorer at the end of the year than at the beginning.

The mighty power which has enabled a few to amass enormous wealth at the expense of the many, now so completely controls the federal government that timid and reactionary men in public life who cling to the old parties dare not brook its opposition.

PARTIES DARE NOT FACE EVILS

The underlying reason, indeed, why both parties have failed to take the people's side in the present crisis is that neither party can openly attack the real evils which are undermining representative government without convicting themselves of treachery to the voters during their most recent tenures of office.

The private monopoly system has grown up only through long-continued violation of the law of the land and could not have attained its present proportions had either the Democratic or Republican parties faithfully and honestly enforced the law.

John Sherman, the clearest-visioned Republican statesman of his time, saw the danger to political liberty and economic freedom in this country a generation ago and sought to fortify the government to meet and destroy it.

Of the private monopoly system which had its beginnings in the latter part of the last century he said:

"It is a kingly prerogative, inconsistent with our form of government. If anything is wrong, this is wrong. If we will not endure a king as a political power, we should not endure a king over the production, transportation, and sale of any of the necessities of life. If we would not submit to an emperor we should not submit to an

autocrat of trade with power to prevent competition and to fix the price of any commodity. The remedy should be swift and sure."

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, enacted by a Republican Congress, placed in the hands of the executive department of this government the most effective weapon that the ingenuity of man could devise against the power of monopoly, while it was yet in its infancy.

MONOPOLY GROWS IN POWER

But between 1898 and 1908 monopoly was permitted to breed unchecked, to crush out individual enterprise through illegal combination, and to control basic industries until by January 1, 1908, the capitalization of the trusts had been increased from $3,784,000,000 to more than $31,672,000,000.

In the election of 1908 the American people were given to understand that the incoming Republican administration would revise the prohibitive tariff duties, from which the monopolies derived much of their power. But the iniquitous Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill, with its increases in the taxes upon the American consumer, was written in 1909 in admitted violation of the solemn pledges of the Republican party.

The people of the United States voted in 1912 that the power of monopoly must be destroyed and President Wilson, then the candidate of the Democratic party, gave his pledge that the will of the people should be faithfully executed. The dominant issue upon which the Democratic party sought the suffrage of the people was forcibly expressed by Mr. Wilson in 1912 when he said:

"The trusts are our masters now.

"We have come to be one of the worst ruled, one of the most completely controlled and dominated governments

in the civilized world—no longer a government by conviction and the vote of the majority, but a government by the opinion and duress of small groups of dominant men.

"The Government of the United States in recent years has not been administered by the common people of the United States.

"The Government of the United States at present is a foster child of the special interests. It is not allowed to have a will of its own.

"Our Government has been for the past few years under the control of the heads of great allied corporations with special interests."

These statements from the Democratic candidate were accepted as true by the American people in the campaign of 1912, coupled with the platform pledge of the Democratic party in that year. That specific pledge reads as follows:

"A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We, therefore, favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trust officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States."

THE LAW MUST BE ENFORCED

From 1912 until the present time no honest or continuous effort has been made by a single administration, either Republican or Democratic, to protect the American people from the exactions of private monopoly by enforcement of the criminal sections of the anti-trust laws. These sections should and must be enforced if the power of corrupt business is to be broken.

While the Democratic party went into office pledged to destroy monopoly by civil and criminal prosecutions,

it withdrew or compromised even the pending civil prosecutions against the trusts during the war and left the American people at the mercy of the greatest profiteers in all history. In the last years of the Democratic administration, under the notorious régime of Attorney-General Palmer, monopoly was recognized as beyond the reach of the law, while labor unions, farmers' organizations and individual citizens daring to assert their constitutional rights against this tyrannical power were singled out for attack and destruction.

In 1920 the people expressed their resentment at their betrayal at the hands of the Democratic party by defeating it with the greatest popular majority ever cast against a political party in the history of this country.

PRESIDENT'S CABINET CORRUPTED

But since March 4, 1921, the American people have learned that monopoly has become as bold and ruthless in time of peace as in time of war. The oil monopoly, after having been permitted under a Democratic administration to exact from the people enormous and unconscionable profits, reached out for the remaining naval oil reserves of the government. It had already succeeded in obtaining from a Republican Congress and a Democratic President control over large tracts of oil and mineral lands outside the naval oil reserves, under the guise of a leasing bill. It now resorted to the outright corruption of a member of the President's cabinet to attain its ends. It obtained the services of former members of the cabinet of the preceding Democratic administration to aid it in extending its dominion over the natural resources of the earth.

The American people will not be convinced of the sincerity or of the capacity of the Democratic party to govern by its mere condemnation of Republican corrup-

tion. Corruption is the inevitable result of the present system of monopoly control over government.

The American people now understand that so long as they permit their government to remain in the hands of the monopoly power they will be helpless to control their destinies either in peace or in war.

Peace, liberty and economic freedom are the great principles to which the American people are devoted. Progressives must champion these principles until they are firmly reëstablished in the life of this country.

The organized banking interests which own the railroads, control credit, and dominate the industrial life of the nation will further oppress labor, rob the consumer, and by extortionate railroad rates and dictation of the terms of credit, reduce agriculture to the level of European peasantry if longer permitted to control this government.

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE OF WAR

The ill-gotten surplus capital acquired by exploiting the resources and the people of our country begets the imperialism which hunts down and exploits the natural resources and the people of foreign countries, erects huge armaments for the protection of its investments, breeds international strife in the markets of the world, and inevitably leads to war.

France, Germany, Great Britain and her self-governing dominions appear to have recognized the principle that the first step toward world peace is the control of government of each nation by the people, and the dedication of government to the service of the masses. Had England, France and Germany been under liberal governments in 1914 there would have been no world war. *The surest reliance against war is democracy. The*

American people must likewise control their own government and restrain their own war makers before we can hope for world stability and comity with the governments which have recently been swept into power by the peace-loving peoples of other nations.

It is idle to hope to control the expenditures for our military establishment or to rely upon the making of treaties for disarmament, or to take any action for the preservation of peace and good will among nations, under an American President and Congress elected and controlled by an organized monopoly power which knows no law but might and greed, and enjoys its greatest profits in time of war.

WHY THE FARMERS SUFFER

It is equally futile to propose makeshift remedies for the temporary relief of the terrible distress which now exists among American farmers. These deplorable conditions are the direct result of the policies of the two old parties, which plunged prosperous agriculture into a ruinous panic. In all sections of our country the farmer has felt the disastrous effects of the extortionate railroad rates imposed by a Republican Congress and a Democratic President in the Esch-Cummins Law, the deflation policy of the Federal Reserve Board which the responsible leaders of both parties instituted and have since defended, and the consistent policy of administrations of both parties in leaving monopoly a free hand to set the price on everything the farmer buys and everything he consumes, including farm machinery and implements, fertilizer, and household necessities.

The hypocrisy of the old parties was never more forcibly illustrated than by a comparison of their platform declarations with the actual records of their rep-

resentatives in the session of Congress just closed. Professing deep concern for the farmer, reactionary Republicans and Democrats failed to produce a single constructive measure for the relief of agriculture, rejected the only bills which were introduced for this purpose, and by their combined votes against the votes of the Progressives forced Congress to adjourn for the party conventions, defeating a resolution providing that Congress should return after a month's recess to give immediate consideration to farm relief legislation.

EQUALITY DENIED AMERICAN FARMER

The present condition of agriculture is the natural result of Democratic and Republican policies which have denied the farmer the equality to which he is fairly entitled. The Progressives have demanded repeal of the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act, reduction of freight rates to substantially their pre-war levels, reformation of the Federal Reserve Board, and the removal of artificial burdens which have been placed upon the farmer by administrations serving monopoly, to the ruin of agriculture.

The farmer does not ask that he be given special advantages. He realizes that so long as the government permits monopoly to crush out his coöperatives by cutthroat competition, control the prices of his products at will, and curtail his credit, there can be no sound, permanent prosperity for agriculture. He understands that he must make common cause with the wage earner, who is likewise at the mercy of monopoly, and he must make common cause with the consuming public which pays monopoly its extortionate profits, but this is the road to prosperity for all the people, unattainable by panaceas which leave monopoly entrenched in its present tyrannical power over credit, industry and the government itself.

NATIONAL MARKETING SYSTEM

I have long held the opinion that in the coöperative principle, as applied to both marketing and credit, lies the best hope for dealing effectively with monopoly. But unless the entrenched powers which now control the economic life of this nation are restrained by the vigorous action of Congress and the Executive, the attempts of the people to free themselves through coöperation will fail. *In their uneven struggle against monopoly, the people must insist that the government be their ally rather then, as at present, the active agent of the enemy.*

In order permanently to relieve the farmer and to prevent the recurrence of agricultural distress, as well as to benefit the consumer through eliminating the unjust toll of middlemen and speculators in food products, it is the duty of the government to aid the farmer in the organization and development of a national coöperative marketing system, under the control of the farmers themselves, free from interference by the government or its agencies. The government must recognize that agriculture is entitled to be placed upon an equal footing with other industries of the nation.

OPPOSED TO CLASS GOVERNMENT

The Progressive movement is the only political medium in our country today which can provide government in the interests of all classes of the people. *We are unalterably opposed to any class government, whether it be the existing dictatorship of plutocracy or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both are essentially undemocratic and un-American. Both are destructive of private initiative and individual liberty.*

With the changing phases of a thirty-year contest, I

have been more and more impressed with the deep underlying singleness of the issue.

The supreme issue is not railroad control. It is not the tariff, banking or taxation.

These and other questions are but manifestations of one great struggle.

THE SUPREME ISSUE

The supreme issue, involving all others, is the encroachment of the powerful few upon the rights of the many. This great power has come between the people and their government. We must, with statesmanship and constructive legislation, meet these problems, or we shall pass them on, with all the possibilities of violent conflict and chaos, to our children.

Democracy cannot live side by side in any country with the present system of control of government by private monopoly. We must choose, on the one hand, between representative government, with its guarantee of peace, liberty and economic freedom and prosperity for all the people, and, on the other, war, tyranny, and the impoverishment of the many for the enrichment of the favored few.

"I AM READY TO ENLIST"

Upon this issue, I am ready to enlist with you to wage unceasing warfare until the American people have been restored to the full enjoyment of their political and economic rights.

I am under no illusions as to the magnitude of the task we have marked out for ourselves. This campaign will call for sacrifice, courage, and unsparing activity from every man and woman engaged on the people's side. But so long as the Progressives keep faith with the people and remain steadfastly true to the principles

which are at stake, we can face the vast financial resources and the specious arguments of our opponents with full confidence of success.

We start this campaign with the tremendous advantage of an old American tradition, deeply fixed in the hearts of the people, derived from the Declaration of Independence, that the great masses of men and women are entitled to an equal chance and that they possess the right to demand equality at the hands of the government under which they live.

Every great political advance in America has come from the efforts of the common people of this country. It was upon them and not upon the privileged classes of society that Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln relied.

"THERE STANDS WISCONSIN"

We shall be falsely accused of advocating radical and destructive policies even while we alone are fighting for the old principles upon which this government achieved its greatness. Happily, we can point to great progressive commonwealths like Wisconsin, where prosperity has been enjoyed by business, agriculture and labor alike, where honest taxation and efficient government have been substituted for graft and corruption, while the reactionaries of both Republican and Democratic parties must share responsibility for the disastrous economic policies and shameful corruption which have marked the last five years of administration of the federal government.

Popular government cannot long endure in this country without an aggressively progressive party.

I stand for an honest realignment in American politics, confident that the people in November will take such action as will insure the creation of a new party in which all Progressives may unite.

I would not, however, accept a nomination or an election to the Presidency if doing so meant for Progressive Senators and Representatives and Progressive state governments, the defeat which would inevitably result from the placing of complete third party tickets in the field at the present time.

PARTIES COME FROM THE PEOPLE

Permanent political parties have been born in this country after, and not before national campaigns, and they have come from the people, not from the proclamations of individual leaders.

The organization of a national party among one hundred and ten million people scattered over forty-eight states is a task of great magnitude as to requirements of labor and the expenditures of large amounts of money. We are confronted with the practical difficulty that there is not sufficient time before the election in November for the adequate organization of such a party.

If the hour is at hand for the birth of a new political party, the American people next November will register their will and their united purpose by a vote of such magnitude that a new political party will be inevitable. If the people in this campaign repudiate the presidential candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties—as in the providence of God I trust and believe they will—we shall then witness the birth of a new party and the beginning of a new era in the life of the American people.

I shall submit my name as an Independent Progressive candidate for President, together with the names of duly qualified candidates for electors, for filing on the ballots in every state in the Union. My appeal will be addressed to every class of the people and to every section of the country.

WHERE LA FOLLETTE STANDS

I am a candidate upon the basis of my public record, as a member of the House of Representatives, as Governor of Wisconsin, and as a member of the United States Senate. I shall stand upon that record exactly as it is written, and shall give my support only to such progressive principles and policies as are in harmony with it.

As a declaration of the program I tend to carry into effect if elected to the Presidency by the votes of the people, I have adopted, in substance, the platform submitted in a recent primary and endorsed by an overwhelming majority of the people of Wisconsin.

In the course of the campaign, I shall give frank expression to my views on every political issue of recognized importance. The people have a right to know the position of every candidate upon questions which are of vital moment to them. I have never avoided or evaded issues. I shall not do so now.

But I have sought at this time to define and to set apart from all other questions, what I regard as the dominant issues of this hour, upon the settlement of which depends the future freedom, prosperity and happiness of the American people.

PLATFORM

OF

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATE

FOR

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(Endorsed by Voters of Wisconsin by 100,000 Majority)

The great issue before the American people today is the control of government and industry by private monopoly.

For a generation the people have struggled patiently, in the face of repeated betrayals by successive administrations, to free themselves from this intolerable power which has been undermining representative government.

Through control of government, monopoly has steadily extended its absolute dominion to every basic industry.

In violation of law, monopoly has crushed competition, stifled private initiative and independent enterprise, and without fear of punishment now exacts extortionate profits upon every necessity of life consumed by the public.

The equality of opportunity proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence and asserted and defended by Jefferson and Lincoln as the heritage of every American citizen has been displaced by special privilege for the few, wrested from the government of the many.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN DANGER

That tyrannical power which the American people denied to a king, they will no longer endure from the monopoly system. The people know they cannot yield to any group the control of the economic life of the nation and preserve their political liberties. They know monopoly has its representatives in the halls of Congress, on the federal bench, and in the executive departments; that these servile agents barter away the nation's natural resources, nullify acts of Congress by judicial veto and administrative favor, invade the people's rights by unlawful arrests and unconstitutional searches and seizures, direct our foreign policy in the interests of predatory wealth, and make wars and conscript the sons of the common people to fight them.

The usurpation in recent years by the federal courts of the power to nullify laws duly enacted by the legislative branch of the government is a plain violation of the Constitution. Abraham Lincoln, in his first inaugural address, said: "The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal." The Constitution specifically vests all legislative power in the Congress, giving that body power and authority to override the veto of the President. The federal courts are given no authority under the Constitution to veto acts of Congress. Since the federal courts have assumed to exercise such veto power, it is essential that the Constitution shall give to the Congress, the right to override such judicial veto, otherwise the court will make itself master over the

other coördinate branches of the government. The people themselves must approve or disapprove the present exercise of legislative power by the federal courts.

DISTRESS OF AMERICAN FARMERS

The present condition of American agriculture constitutes an emergency of the gravest character. The Department of Commerce report shows that during 1923 there was a steady and marked increase in dividends paid by the great industrial corporations. The same is true of the steam and electric railways and practically all other large corporations. On the other hand, the Secretary of Agriculture reports that in the fifteen principal wheat-growing states more than 108,000 farmers since 1920 have lost their farms through foreclosure or bankruptcy; that more than 122,000 have surrendered their property without legal proceedings, and that nearly 375,000 have retained possession of their property only through the leniency of their creditors, making a total of more than 600,000 or 26 per cent of all farmers who have virtually been bankrupted since 1920 in these fifteen states alone.

Almost unlimited prosperity for the great corporations and ruin and bankruptcy for agriculture is the direct and logical result of the policies and legislation which deflated the farmer while extending almost unlimited credit to the great corporations; which protected with exorbitant tariffs the industrial magnates, but depressed the prices of the farmer's products by financial juggling while greatly increasing the cost of what he must buy; which guaranteed excessive freight rates to the railroads and put a premium on wasteful management while saddling an unwarranted burden on to the backs of the American farmer; which permitted gambling in the products of the farm by grain speculators

to the great detriment of the farmer and to the great profit of the grain gambler

A COVENANT WITH THE PEOPLE

Awakened by the dangers which menace their freedom and prosperity the American people still retain the right and courage to exercise their sovereign control over their government. In order to destroy the economic and political power of monopoly, which has come between the people and their government, we pledge ourselves to the following principles and policies:

THE HOUSECLEANING

1. We pledge a complete housecleaning in the Department of Justice, the Department of the Interior, and the other executive departments. We demand that the power of the federal government be used to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

NATURAL RESOURCES

2. We pledge recovery of the navy's oil reserves and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased, or otherwise wrongfully transferred, to the control of private interests; vigorous prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; complete revision of the water-power act, the general leasing act, and all other legislation relating to the public domain. We favor public ownership of the nation's water power and the creation and development of a national super-water-power system, including Muscle Shoals, to supply at actual cost light and power for the people and nitrate for the farmers, and strict public control and permanent conservation of all the nation's

resources, including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands, in the interest of the people.

RAILROADS

3. We favor repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law and the fixing of railroad rates upon the basis of actual, prudent investment and cost of service. We pledge speedy enactment of the Howell-Barkley bill for the adjustment of controversies between railroads and their employees, which was held up in the last Congress by joint action of reactionary leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties. We declare for public ownership of railroads with definite safeguards against bureaucratic control, as the only final solution of the transportation problem.

TAX REDUCTION

4. We favor reduction of federal taxes upon individual incomes and legitimate business, limiting tax exactions strictly to the requirements of the government administered with rigid economy, particularly by curtailment of the eight hundred million dollars now annually expended for the army and navy in preparation for future wars; by the recovery of the hundreds of millions of dollars stolen from the Treasury through fraudulent war contracts and the corrupt leasing of the public resources; and by diligent action to collect the accumulated interest upon the eleven billion dollars owing us by foreign governments.

We denounce the Mellon tax plan as a device to relieve multimillionaires at the expense of other taxpayers, and favor a taxation policy providing for immediate reductions upon moderate incomes, large increases in the inheritance tax rates upon large estates to prevent the indefinite accumulation by inheritance of great fortunes

in a few hands; taxes upon excess profits to penalize profiteering, and complete publicity, under proper safeguards, of all federal tax returns.

THE COURTS

5. We favor submitting to the people, for their considerate judgment, a constitutional amendment providing that Congress may by enacting a statute make it effective over a judicial veto.

We favor such amendment to the Constitution as may be necessary to provide for the election of all federal judges, without party designation, for fixed terms not exceeding ten years, by direct vote of the people.

THE FARMERS

6. We favor drastic reduction of the exorbitant duties on manufactures provided in the Fordney-McCumber tariff legislation, the prohibiting of gambling by speculators and profiteers in agricultural products; the reconstruction of the Federal Reserve and Federal Farm Loan systems, so as to eliminate control by usurers, speculators and international financiers, and to make the credit of the nation available upon fair terms to all and without discrimination to business men, farmers and home-builders. We advocate the calling of a special session of Congress to pass legislation for the relief of American agriculture. We favor such further legislation as may be needful or helpful in promoting and protecting co-operative enterprises. We demand that the Interstate Commerce Commission proceed forthwith to reduce by an approximation to pre-war levels the present freight rates on agricultural products, including live stock, and upon the materials required upon American farms for agricultural purposes.

LABOR

7. We favor abolition of the use of injunctions in labor disputes and declare for complete protection of the right of farmers and industrial workers to organize, bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and conduct without hindrance coöperative enterprises.

We favor prompt ratification of the Child Labor amendment, and subsequent enactment of a federal law to protect children in industry.

POSTAL SERVICE

8. We believe that a prompt and dependable postal service is essential to the social and economic welfare of the nation; and that as one of the most important steps toward establishing and maintaining such a service, it is necessary to fix wage standards that will secure and retain employees of character, energy and ability.

We favor the enactment of the postal salary adjustment measure (S. 1898) for the employees of the postal service, passed by the first session of the 68th Congress, vetoed by the President and now awaiting further consideration by the next session of Congress.

We endorse liberalizing the Civil Service Retirement law along the lines of S. 3011 now pending in Congress.

WAR VETERANS

9. We favor adjusted compensation for the veterans of the late war, not as charity, but as matter of right, and we demand that the money necessary to meet this obligation of the government by raised by taxes laid upon wealth in proportion to the ability to pay, and declare our opposition to the sales tax or any other device to shift this obligation onto the backs of the poor in

higher prices and increased cost of living. We do not regard the payment at the end of a long period of a small insurance as provided by the law recently passed as in any just sense a discharge of the nation's obligations to the veterans of the late war.

GREAT LAKES TO SEA

10. We favor a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea. The government should, in conjunction with Canada, take immediate action to give the northwestern states an outlet to the ocean for cargoes, without change in bulk, thus making the primary markets on the Great Lakes equal to those of New York.

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

11. Over and above constitutions and statutes and greater than all, is the supreme sovereignty of the people, and with them should rest the final decision of all great questions of national policy. We favor such amendments to the Federal Constitution as may be necessary to provide for the direct nomination and election of the President, to extend the initiative and referendum to the federal government, and to insure a popular referendum for or against war except in cases of actual invasion.

PEACE ON EARTH

12. We denounce the mercenary system of foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists and international bankers, which has at times degraded our State Department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession-seekers engaged in the exploitation of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic develop-

ment and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments, and guarantee public referendums on peace and war.

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